

THE NATURE OF NIRAT^{ed} POETRY AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE GENRE

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ABSTRACT

Nirāt poetry is one of the oldest and most persistent poetic genres in Thai literature. Its origin can be dated back to the 16th century. The concept of "Nirāt" has been deeply held among Thai people with literary interest and its popularity has been secure right up to the present. Passages of Nirāt often abound in epic-romances and dramatic poetry: they are aesthetically self-contained and independent of the plot or narrative and are used to create moments of intensified emotion. Unfortunately, the existence of numerous poems of love-longing has caused some confusion among scholars; the variety of types of these poems has meant that there is no clear notion of the Nirāt as a poetic genre.

This thesis is concerned with the nature and development of the Nirāt genre in Thai poetry. It attempts to uncover the intrinsic nature of Nirāt poetry and seeks to differentiate a true Nirāt type from the whole group of poems of love-in-separation. The term "Nirāt" itself is defined both for its occurrences as a lexical form and as the name given to the genre. The analysis emphasizes

the emergence of a particular type of poetry of love-longing which can be clearly defined and posited as the true Nirāt type. The study then considers the method, form, and special techniques peculiar to the poems which established the foundation of the Nirāt convention. Other Nirāt poems which introduced new methods and techniques or which brought in new elements of form and expression, are then studied and analysed so that the development of all elements which constitute Nirāt poetry can be explained and considered.

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CHAPTER 1

THE TERM "NIRĀT"

For at least four centuries, the term Nirāt has been used in Thai poetry in a verbal and nominal form, as well as part of poem titles and as a technical term to differentiate certain categories of Thai poem. The existence of this term suggests that a category of some kind has been observed by Thai scholars, and that therefore the term can be used to designate a distinct type of poem. Earlier works which have been recognised as Nirāt poems include Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, and Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōnsawan.¹ As we can see, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai and Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōnsawan are distinguished by the title Nirāt, whereas Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt (Twelve Months) has been given its title because of its chronological aspect which the poet used as the framework for his imagined journey.² On the other hand, the title Khlōng Kamsuan

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1. Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōnsawan is a less well-known poem believed to have been composed in the 17th century during the reign of King Nārai. The poem is attributed to Phra Sīmahōsot.
 2. Later, this poem will be classified as a precursor of Nirāt rather than a real Nirāt poem.

Sīprāt (the Wailing of Sīprāt) is an explicit pronouncement about the emotive attitude of the poet. This poem is also known as Kamsuan Samut (The Lamentation in the Ocean) and is sometimes referred to as Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sīthamarāt.¹ There is a fragment of a poem believed to be contemporary with Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt known as Rāchāphilāp Khamchan - the Lamentation of a Rājā. This title serves the same purpose as that of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. However, when the poem was finally published it was renamed "Nirāt Sīda Khamchan".²

The titles of the poems cited above were arrived at, using no particular criteria though of course, the titles bear a certain relevance to the subject matter of each poem. This is due to the fact that Thai

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1. The title Kamsuan Samut is found quoted in Chindāmanī; the 17th century text book of poetry. See Chindāmanī Lem Nung-Sōng, Bangkok, 1969, p.49. For the title Nirāt Nakhōn Sīthamarāt see Thanit Yūphō, Prawat Lae Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, Bangkok, 1968, p.4.
 2. Rāchāphilāp Khamchan is also quoted in Chindāmanī. See Chindāmanī Lem Nung lem Sōng, Bangkok, fifth edition, 1969, pp.49, 63-64. For Nirāt Sīdā see Wachirayān No. 89, February 1902, p.241.

literature scholars have until recently been preoccupied with disputes regarding chronology, and with proving or disproving the veracity of accounts of the literary origins and the lives of poets.¹ Not until later, during the Ratanakōsin period, by which time a group of poetical works called Nirāt by the poets themselves, reached its flowering, and a large number of poems of this kind had been composed, did Prince Damrong Rachānuphāp attempt to describe the Nirāt poems for the first time on their publication. He wrote:

"The group of poetical works called Nirāt are poems composed during long journeys. It could be supposed that these compositions arose from the fact that when a poet travelled by boat he had much free time and had to find something to do in order to avoid being bored. As a man of poetry, he did this by writing poems. It is natural that he described things he saw along the way and related them to his moods and emotions. For instance, he lamented the absence of his loved one and his home. The context of the Nirāt poems develops somewhat in this manner. It has been popular since the Ayuthayā period but the name Nirāt used to designate this type of poem was probably prescribed in the Ratanakōsin period."²

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1. Disputes and contradictions concerning the life and work of Sīprāt, for instance, include two chronicles (Kham Hai Kān Chao Krung Kao and Kham Hai Kan Khun Luang Hā wat), an article to reconstruct the "Legend of Sīprāt" by Phrayā Pariyat Thamathādā (Phae Tālalak), and the late Professor M.R. Sumonachāt's query into the official title "Sīprāt" to try to convince us that there might be more than one Sīprāt after all.
 2. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Prince, Preface in Prachum Nirāt Sunthōn Phū, Bangkok, 1922, p.2. but see p.8 for argument.

Other scholars have given similar definitions of the Nirāt. However Prince Phitthayālongkōn, added:

"The Nirāt poems use the subject of sadness on love separation as the core. If the Nirāt puts more emphasis on the description of other subjects, then these "other subjects" must be regarded as the surrounding flesh."¹

Another Thai scholar, Nāi Tamrā Na Mṃang Tāi, has given the following definition:

"A type of poetical work, describing the journey, involving also the feelings and emotion of the poet. The core of the Nirāt poem is love. The poet regards the melancholy thoughts about his loved one from whom he has been separated as the most important theme. Wherever he travels he finds suitable materials to write about things he sees along the way and he mentions these things in relation to his love."²

In the West, Professor E.H.S. Simmonds has included Nirāt poetry in what he called "Poems of Reflection".

He has stated:

"A particular type of poem of reflection is the Nirāt. This is a poem addressed to the loved one by a lover who is absent upon a journey. Incidents on the way or natural phenomena are used to point out the melancholy of separation."³

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1. Phitthayālongkōn, Prince, Phasom Phasān: Miscellaneous essays by NMS, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1960, pp. 7 - 19.
 2. See Nāi Tamrā Na Mṃang Tāi, Prawat Wanakhadī Thai Samrap Naksyksā, Bangkok, 1955, p. 400.
 3. E.H.S. Simmonds, Siamese Dawn Songs. in Eos: an enquiry into the theme of lovers' meetings and partings at dawn in poetry, ed. A.T. Hatto. The Hague, Mouton, 1965, pp. 186 - 195.

A Nirāt poem has also been described by a French scholar; P. Schweisguth as a "poeme d'adieu". He went on to say that:

"In Thailand it is used to indicate a piece intended to describe the sadness of a departure or absence. In general, these are love poems; the author tells first of all the charms of the beautiful women he has just left, and then in the course of his progress on the way, he notes the different places of his journey. He relates them, when he can, to memories which are dear to him."

As a lexical form, the term Nirāt is found in Mahāchāt Khamluang, the 15th Century literary work composed during the reign of King Boromatrailōkanāt (1438 - 1458). From this text, the contextual meaning of the term implies separation. The term Nirāt also occurs in all earlier works of poems of separation. Six occurrences were found in Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, three in Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt, and two in Khlōng kamsuan Sīprāt.

The lexical meaning of the term has been constructively discussed by Prince Phithayālongkōn.

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1. P. Schweisguth, "Les "Nirāt" ou poemes d'adieu dans la litterature siamoise", JSS. 38/1, 1950, pp. 67 - 68. See also "Etude sur la litterature siamoise", Paris Imprimerie Nationale, 1951, where the author discussed Nirāt poems at various places.

The Prince suggested that the term Nirāt might be derived from Sanskrit "nir" and "aṣa" meaning without hope and desire. Another possibility, he suggested, could be "Nirasa" which comes from "nir" and "asa" which, according to Monier Williams, means (a) seatless, shelterless and (b) expulsion, exclusion. The meaning of the latter is perhaps closer to the Thai usage because many Nirāt poets made their journeys under the King's command.¹

In Thai poetry, the term "nirā" [Sanskrit "nir" (without)] occurs frequently in poems of separation. Nirā is used as a verb meaning "without" and "to be separated from". In other words, nirā has a similar, or the same meaning as "nirāt". In most cases the two terms, "nirā" and "nirāt", can be substituted without changing the contextual meaning in the poem.

In composing Thai poetry, the sound often plays an important role in the aesthetic appreciation of verse. This is particularly true in Khlōng poetry in which certain fixed patterns of tone placement were carefully prescribed.² It is not uncommon that a Thai may add (P)

1. Phithayālongkōn, op. cit., pp. 7 - 19.

2. See Phrayā Upakit Sinlapasān, Lak Phāsā Thai, Chanthalak Bangkok, 1955, pp. 39 - 102.

/t/ as a final stop ending to mid or rising tone open syllables with long vowels.

The result is that he succeeds in creating syllables with a falling tone or a low tone out of mid or rising tone syllables. This technique has been recognised by Thai scholars as *sō̄ khao lilit*.¹ An extensive list of examples of words produced by this technique can be compiled. It is probably in this way that the term *Nirā* becomes *Nirāt* which is used in Thai poetry to mean "separation, to be separated from, or to be without something which is dearly desired". In a *Nirāt* poem a poet may express, with strong feeling and emotion, that he must "nirāt" his loved one or "nirāt" something which often involves his feelings and desires, and includes a yearning to experience the pleasure of affectionate union or reunion. While making a journey away from home, the lonely poet suffers from this so-called "Nirāt". It becomes a poetical complaint telling of the pain caused by it.

1. For a good explanation of *sō̄ khao lilit* see Chanthit Krasaesin, *Prachum Wannakhadi Thai Phāk Phisēt*, Bangkok, 1969, pp. 61-62.

How and when the term "Nirāt" came to be used as a category for poems of separation is unclear. Prince Damrong's suggestion that the term "Nirāt" as a category was not adopted until during the Ratanakosin period is indeed doubtful. It has been found that the term "Khlong Nirāt" appeared in the 17th Century text book for students of poetry - *Chindāmanī*.¹ This suggests that along with the existence of three other *Khlong Nirāt* poems, *Khlong Nirāt Haripunchai*, *Khlong Thawāthotsamāt*, and *Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt* which were composed before *Chindāmanī*, they formed a type of poem, quite distinct from poems popular at the time, in that they expressed the personal feelings of the poets for the first time. The poets had chosen to become personalized. The fact that the term "*Khlong Nirāt*" was listed side by side with "*Khlong Kāp*", "*Khlong Khamkām*", "*Khlong Sangwāt*", and "*Khlong Lilit*", is a good indication of this. Furthermore, this suggestion is strengthened by the occurrence of a list of works already in existence before the composition of *Chindāmanī*. Two of the three major

1. Phra Hōrāthibōdī, *Chindāmanī*. See *Chindāmanī Lem Nung Lem Sōng*, Op cit., p. 48.

poems of separation; Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt and Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, are included in the list.¹

The text Čhindāmanī also records its recognition of Nirāt as a type of verse form as well as a poetical work.² An example of Nirāt was given under the heading "Phumarā Chantha Nirāt". The expression in this example implies sadness arising from the separation of a poet from his loved one:

"I take up food and try to eat,
My eyes brimful of tears, words will not
come.
When life has left me cold as stone,
My love for you might cease to be.
Till then my sweet I'll live in dreams,
seeing you come slowly back to me."³

Further evidence can be found in the third stanza of Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai. The poet implies that he intended to write a poem called "Nirāt". His motif

1. Ibid., p. 49

2. Ibid., p. 48

3. See Čhindāmanī, Ibid., p.61. It should be noted, however, that the term "stone" used in the English translation is not intended to be a direct translation of the Thai word หิน (third line of the stanza). It is realized, of course, that the old Thai expression หินหาย means "to disappear, to cease abruptly".

derived from "the pain of absence from his beloved" and he composed the poem in order to "make it known to all the world for it to think upon".¹ This stanza comes after the introductory invocation in which the poet prayed to the Lord Buddha and gave the date of his journey, with the second stanza stating the place of destination. Then the following fourth stanza begins the theme of melancholy as the result of separation.

Another clear piece of evidence which shows that the Khlōng Nirāt had been recognised as a category as early as the 18th Century can be found in Kāp Hō Khlōng Nirāt Phrabāt composed by Prince Thammāthibēt. In the closing stanza the poet stated:

"I have provided human loving in this Nirāt poem of separation from womankind.

It is customary for learned men to compose in the manner I have used."²

A definite piece of evidence is perhaps the name intended by Phrayā Mahānuphāp for his composition which has become known as Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang

1. Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, Bangkok, 1924, p.1.

2. See Chao Fā Thammāthibēt; Prawat Lae Bot Rōikrōng, Bangkok, 1962, p.101.

Chīn. This Nirāt poem was composed in 1781 on a journey to China when King Taksin of Thonburi sent an Embassy to renew relationship with the Chinese Court in Peking. The author named his composition "Nirāt Kwangtung" as the author himself ended his journey in Canton. However, when the poem was published the present name was given instead.¹

The most succinct reflection upon the mood of the love-fevered husbands can be seen from the verse of Sakawā which was extemporaneously improvised by King Chulālongkōn and his brothers and cousins on board ship during their journey to Europe in 1907. Each line of the following verse is composed by an individual, ad lib, as a result of this Sakawā poetry competition game.

"Wherever I turn, I feel so lonely.
 I long to return to the city.
 For you will be lonesome and sad in the night,
 Because I am not there to make love to you.
 Until now, twelve full days have passed,

1. Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Muang Chīn, Bangkok, 1918, pp. 27.

The distance from love is breaking my heart.
 What am I to do to bring love near.
 Oh, so far away, I miss you my dear."¹

During this journey, the King also stated in daily letters he wrote to his daughter, Princess Niphā Nophadon, that he had started to compose a Nirāt poem. The reason was:

"Prince Prachak is going mad. He has been teasing everyone on the subject of wives. I was asked to help in the composition of a Nirāt₂ poem. Today I have composed these three stanzas."²

In his next letter the King wrote that he had composed five stanzas more. These stanzas, he said:

".... shall be read during meal times - one stanza for each meal."³

1. Phrarāchaniphon Ruang Klai Bān: Far from Home, Letters by H.M. King Chulālongkōn to H.R.H. Princess Niphā Nophadon, Vol. 1, Bangkok, 1932, p. 40. Originally, the Sakawā verse game was an extemporaneous exchange between two or more teams of skilful poets and singers sponsored by the King, Princes and Nobles. The game was played in boats during the flood season. The above verse, however, is the result of the Sakawā game played in King Chulālongkōn's smoking room on board "Chakrī" ship on its way to Europe in 1907.
2. Klai Bān, Ibid., p.6. This Nirāt was later published under the title "Nirāt Ratana".
3. Ibid., p.10.

And in another letter the King wrote:

"Today I have nothing to do so I composed some more stanzas for my Nirāt poem."¹

It is legitimate therefore to say that the term Nirāt as a poetic genre was recognised as long ago as the 16th century when Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai is believed to have been composed.² However, a definite non-arbitrary classification was not made until the Ratanakōsin period. Titles were then given to earlier poems which appeared to fit this category. Many poems have been renamed with the title Nirāt plus the name of the place of destination of the journey. In some cases, however the name of the author was included in the title for the purpose of identification. Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, for instance, was probably called Kamsuan Samut originally as this name appears in Chindāmanī. Later, after the poet's death, it would have been reasonable to include his name in the title for identification. The title Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sīthamarāt is probably the product of the later 19th century type of classification.

1. Ibid., p.63.

2. The date of composition of Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai is based on Dr. Praseot Na Nakhōn's study. See Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, P.E.N. International Thailand Centre, 1960, preface.

Early Nirāt poems represent the pangs of love-in-separation expressed with strong feelings and emotion, which emphasized the element of fear and anxiety that poets experienced as a result of separation. It is a psychological truth that true love awakens or is experienced most strongly during separation - and not in union. This feature of melancholic expression as the result of love separation is, indeed, universal. Early analogues of the theme of love-in-separation are often found in Sanskrit literature, in Kalidasa's Meghaduta (The Cloud Messenger) and Rtusamharam (the Seasons) for instance.¹

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1. The subject of Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt bears striking similarity to that of Rtusamharam in spite of the absence of any direct influence. See Shankar Mokashi-Punekar, the Cycle of Seasons, Bombay, 1966, p. 96. For Meghaduta see for instance, An Anthology of Indian Literature, Edited by John B. Alphonso-Karkala. Penguin Books, 1971, pp. 423-450. In Ceylon a poem exists which recounts the feelings of a lover's absence from his mistress in turn reminiscence of Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt. For example, the beauty of the lady is described in detail and the absent lover is afflicted by natural phenomena and is unable to bear his suffering alone without his beloved. There seems also to be in Ceylon a long continued tradition of a Meghaduta type. Some of these poems from the 14th to 19th centuries are cast in the form of actual geographical journey where place names are mentioned. However, the messengers are birds and the descriptions of people and places are direct and simple and do not appear to be based on a punning system involving the toponyms. See C.E. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, Colombo, 1955, pp. 183-208 and pp. 255-264.

It has been found in Sanskrit court poetry that the favourite subjects of verses include messages to absent lovers or husbands where "the lady sighs take the colour from her lips; her eyes weep floods of tears; her body burns in torment". And when the lady parted from her lover she "lies sighing on her couch, seeking sleep that will not come". A further common subject is that of the lover separated from his mistress which is said to be as old as Rāmāyana.¹

In Arabic poetry, Phrayā Anumān Rāṭchathon has observed that the love-in-separation aspect of the Qasida is somewhat similar to the Thai Nirāt.² In Thai poetry, analogues on the theme of love separation can be drawn from many major literary works including

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1. See Vidyakara and Ingall, An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Harvard Oriental Series 44, 1965, pp. 192, 230 and 242.
 2. For Qasida see A.K.H. Kinany, The Development of Gazal in Arabic Literature, esp. Ch. 3 pp. 41-57. See also Phrayā Anumān Rāṭchathon, Fūn Khwām Lang, Vol. 1, 1967, p. 491. In Burmese there is a poetical form called Yadu (Rādu) which came into prominence in the latter half of the 16th century. One of its most characteristic themes is "the mood of longing and wistful sadness evoked by the contemplation of forest scenes or by being parted from home and family". See Hla Pe, A.J. Allott, John Okell, "Three Immortal Burmese Songs", BSOAS XXVI, Part 3, 1963, pp. 559-571.

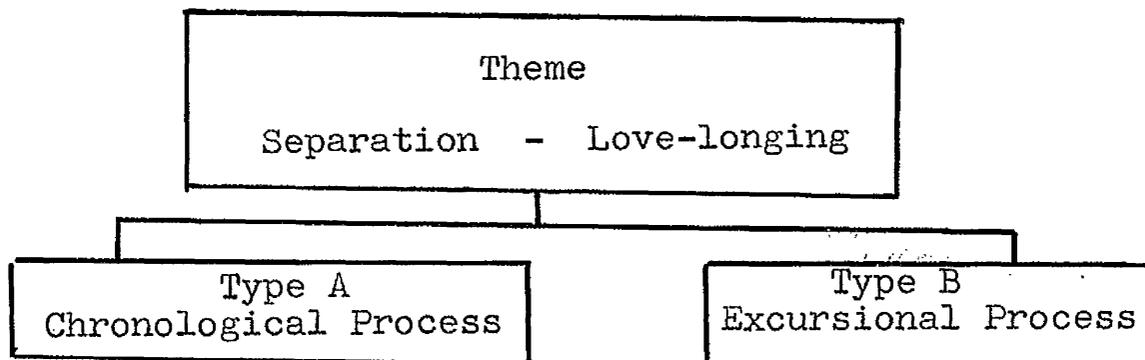
works in the Brahmanic and Buddhistic tradition. The most wellknown lovers who suffered long separation were, of course, Rāma and Sīdā in the Ramakian. A similar fate was shared by many heroes and heroines of stories in the Jātaka.¹ The 15th century epic-romance Phra Lō contains long passages of Nirāt-like themes although the hero in this case was voluntarily separated from his wife in order to search for his other loves. The theme recurs in many other works; Inao, Talēng Phāi, etc., which also involve the melancholy theme of separated loves as expressed by the hero. This theme of love-longing and separation in these major literary works, however, only form a peripheral part of the whole. The Nirāt poem diverges from these works. It carries forward the theme of love-longing following separation, to form a larger poem, developed in its own right.

1. Nirāt poets often compare the sadness of characters from the Jataka with that of their own when separated from love.

CHAPTER 2
THE EMERGENCE OF TYPES

The basic situation in which the poet finds himself is one of separation, and this situation together with the emotion of love-longing of which he is strongly aware, provides the motive force of the poem. To designate such poems as Nirāt would result only in an imprecise and thus, in critical terms, inefficient definition. In order to construct a model frame-work within which the Nirāt can be more precisely defined, it is necessary to move beyond the mere theme of separation plus love-longing and examine the process of the poems more closely.

At this stage the following set of models will be proposed.



The theme: Separation + Love-longing, serves as the core of the poem. From poems of this theme, two

types emerged.

Type A: Theme + Chronological Process

Type B: Theme + Excursion Process

Chronological process means that the fundamental formal structure of the poem is expressed in terms of time progression. Excursion process means that the fundamental formal structure of the poem is expressed in the form of an imaginary journey derived from literary sources.

Type A: This brings into consideration the following work. Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt

"Even the celebrated Thawāthotsamāt,
composed by three poets,
cannot equal in its expression of sorrow,
my feelings of love-fever as I look for you."¹

(Phrayā Trang: Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap
Lam Nām Nōi)

"Even the poem Thawāthotsamāt composed,
by three poets in sadness brings into my mind
only half as much of fevered sorrow
I feel in my absence from you."²

(Narinthibēt: Nirāt Narin)

1. See Phrayā Trang, Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lam Nām Nōi, stanza 180 in Prachum Nirāt Kham Khlōng by P. Na Pramuanmāk, Bangkok, 1970, p. 76.
2. See Narinthibēt, Khlōng Nirāt Narin, Bangkok, 1924, stanza 123, p. 32

Thai scholars and poets are unanimous in regarding Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt as a Nirāt poem. As the two Khlōng stanzas above have shown, the poem has been read, quoted and recognized as one of the old model texts by prominent Nirāt poets of a later date.

The date of composition of Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt is still disputed. However, Chanthit Krasaesin has attempted to prove that the poem was composed in the 15th century during the reign of King Bōromatrailōkanāt (1438-1458). Its author, Phra Yaowarāt was assisted by three other poets, Khun Phrommontrī, Khun Sīkawirāt, and Khun Sārapraset.¹ The poem is in the Khlōng Sī Dan verse form.²

This long narrative poem of 260 stanzas begins with an invocation in which the poet praises the glory of the Hindu Gods; Brāhma, Śiva, and Nārāyana and the King with his peaceful and prosperous Kingdom. The invocation is followed by what will be called the "preliminary to separation"; the praising of the beauty of the poet's

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1. Chanthit Krasaesin has insisted that this poem should be attributed to Phra Yaowarāt, the son of King Bōromatrailōkanāt. See Prachum Wanakhadi Thai Phāk Phisēt, Thawāthotsamāt Khlōng Dan, Bangkok, 1969 pp. 8-41.
 2. For full treatment of the subject see Phrāya Upakit Sinlapasān, Chanthalak (poetic rules) Bangkok, 1948.

beloved, expressing his desire for her, and a description of certain parts of her body. It is curious to see how the poet chooses to mention certain parts of the body in describing the woman's beauty. Only sensitive parts which would easily move his readers received their poetical annunciation - the breast, the face, the tongue, etc. It is legitimate to say that parts normally undisplayed, when mentioned in poetical language, would evoke nostalgic reflexes more strongly. It raises the importance of the beloved and therefore the pain of separation is heightened.

When the poet celebrates the beauty of his beloved he puts the stress on the well grown breast (stanza 90), the scented smell of her skin and face (stanza 10), the special pleasure of her tongue which aroused his desire (stanza 11), the charm of her conversation (stanza 11), and the fragrance of her whole body (stanza 12), and the pleasure that his beloved was able to give him in the joy of physical union (stanzas 13 to 20). It is this joy-gone-by which is really the ultimate cause of his melancholy. Nevertheless, it is true to say that, to the poet, sentiment is more important than accurate description because the special charm of the poem as a whole depends on the effectiveness of these sentimental

expressions painted virtually in almost every stanza of the poem. It should be accepted, at least from the point of view of Thai classical poetry, that this type of poem was designed to represent the most internal and personal incommunicable human experience - love tinged by grief and love-fever. Moreover, it must have been the literary motif at the time for the poet to sing the highest tune of love-fever and to depict its emotional phases with great relish and subtlety. The stronger the sentiment the better the effect.

"I think of caressing the lotuses in your precious pool,

Picking flowers to keep and consume with joy

The pleasure of the most beautiful flower,

And open its round lower petals."¹

"The day we embraced each other for a long time,

Our thighs clung flat closed and wet as we moved,

Then I shared and consumed the potion of love.

O beloved, we lay with bliss and taste of pleasure."²

Then the poet compares his own sadness of separation

1. Prachum Wanakhadī Thai Phāk Phiset, Op. Cit. stanza 13, p. 72.

2. Ibid., stanza 17, p.76.

with that of wellknown literary characters from the Rāmāyana and five other Jātaka stories. In these stories, even though the pain of separation of the heroes and heroines is wellknown, they were united in the end whereas the fate of the poet himself is still uncertain, and therefore he suffered more pain than any of the characters he chose to mention.

The core of the poem follows. This section contains the chronological setting - the principal arena for the poet to express his love-longing and desire. This is the longest section (200 stanzas). It contains erotic stanzas with physical descriptions of the beloved and vivid love-making, mingled with the natural setting and other human activities. There should not be any doubt as to why the element of time is chosen as the source of the journey. It is a psychological verisimilitude that separated lovers would count every minute of their torment. There is a progressive length of separation, a progressive element of time, torment and suffering, and consequently progressive sorrow. The poet shows, through the passing of time, his mental anguish and pain during the helpless period

of separation, which is twelve full months in this case. To the poet, nature serves as the background which inspires his emotion. It sets the stage for the emotional and aesthetic aspects of love-longing. In Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt, nature is brought into relationship with the poet's grief and it is in this light that nature often determines his sorrow. Nature has the objects with which the poet consoles himself during the absence from his beloved. When the poet journeys through the twelve months of the year he observes the complete cycle of change in natural objects and other human activities which, in fact, represent a cycle of the lives of all creatures in the Ayuthaya Kingdom. The effect of nature on other objects and creatures progresses according to its normal course but its effect on the poet himself is different because his is the only existence in nature which suffers love separation.

The opening 5th month brings extreme discomforts; the full blast of the hot sun's rays, the drying up of rivers and seas, and the desiccation of the trees. However, it is his heart which suffers most. Even

the amount of heat which scorches the earth and the mountains, does not equal the furnace burning in his heart (stanzas 28-49). Then comes the monsoon and several months of rains follow. The monsoon is a happy time for lovers if they could stay at home. It is the period for love-making unequalled at any other time of year except, to some, the dry cool months. At this time, the poet constantly thought of the pleasure he used to enjoy at home. At times he succinctly expresses his love desire while recalling her physical beauty. Every phenomenon of the monsoon serves as a love stimulant; the dark cloud, the green trees, water, all remind him of the domestic bliss he has foregone. Sometimes the suggestiveness of nature is more than he can bear and he cried until his tears became streams. (stanzas 58-94). On the rainy nights, the thunder, the wind, and the cloud stimulated his sorrow whereas on the clear nights the moon, the stars, and the sky reminded him of his beloved's face (stanzas 88-94).

In the sixth month, the poet writes:

"The sixth month arrives with heavenly rains.

I think of your beautiful blossoms, my love.

This month we used to share our love and happiness.
 Till your soft navel felt the pains of love.
 When thunder roars I feel restless with desire,
 My heart so painful as if being torn out.
 The month brings news of ploughing,
 My heart wilts and tears fill my eyes."¹

Different months bring different activities including festivals, religious ceremonies, games, dancing and singing all of which remind the poet of his beloved. General human activities reminded the poet of his happy moments with her. He lamented at religious ceremonies when he looked around and could not find her. He prayed for her (stanza 137). His plight was miserable as his heart burnt with the fire of separation. He could not bear the sight of the male deer walking behind the female deer (stanza 103) nor could he admire the flowers because they represented her eyes, cheeks, and breasts (stanza 62). Dancing, singing, and music burnt his heart (stanzas 130 and 131) and even the moon beams became fire, but his heart became dark when the sun

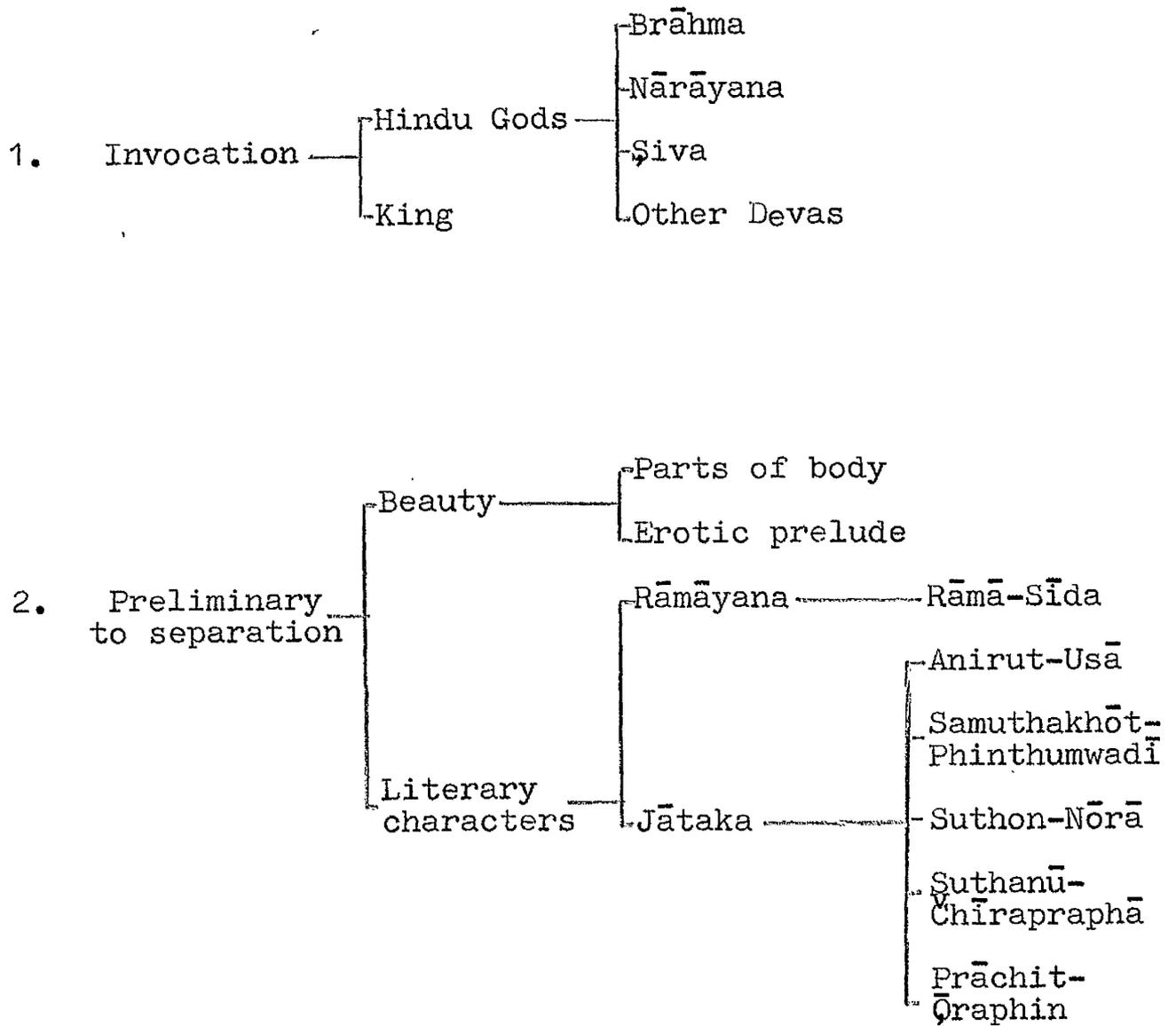
1. Ibid., stanzas 50 and 51, pp. 107 - 108.

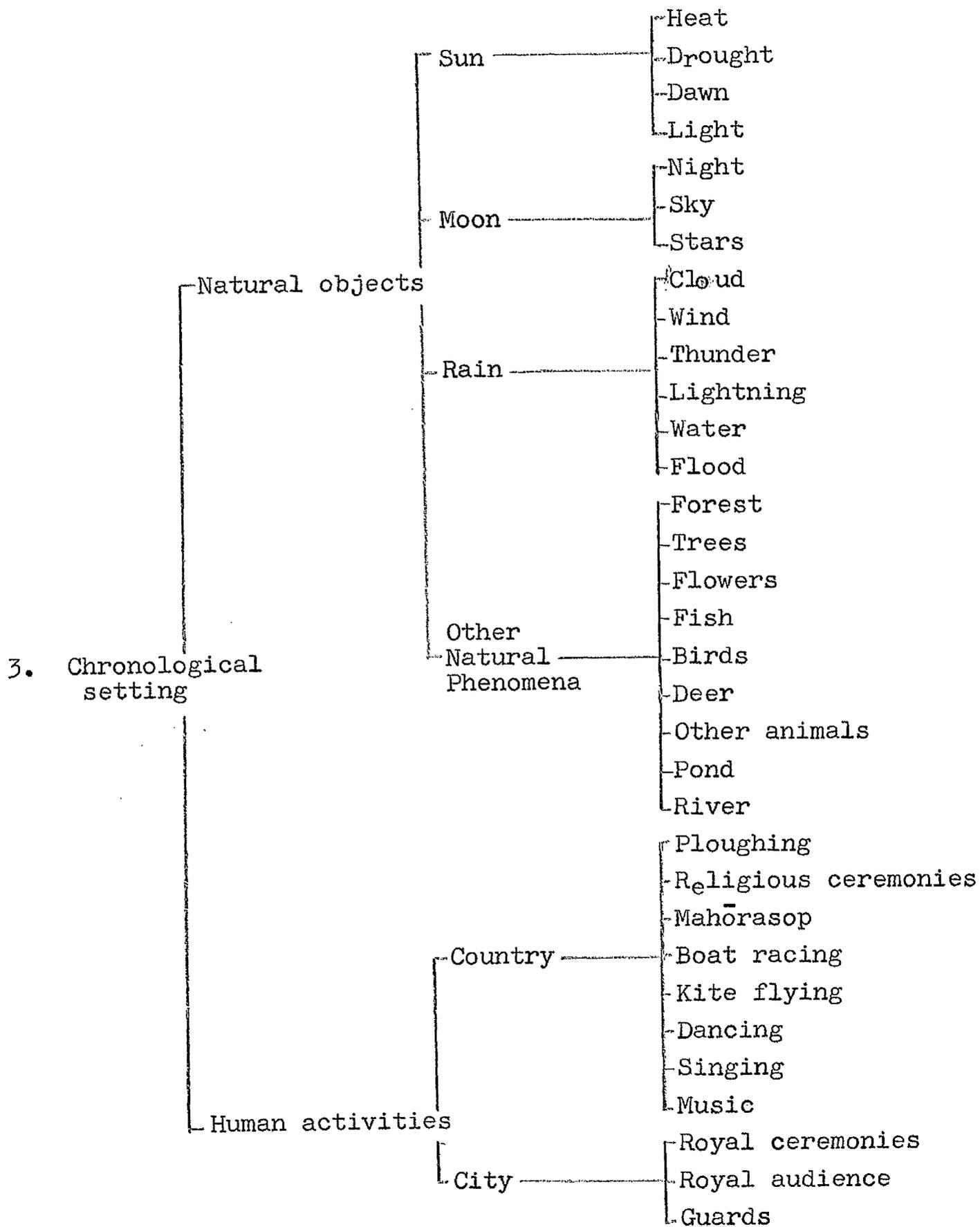
beams were bright (stanzas 125, 126, 127). Indeed, there is a great difference between loveliness seen by the eyes and the reflected feelings felt by the heart.

The cool dry season arrives with the first month (dyaṅ āi). Here again, natural objects do not help as the river begins to dry up (stanza 142). Fish and birds were hungry and the grass was dying (stanza 144). The poet too felt the impact of death and he asked the kite to take this news to his beloved (stanza 151). The rice field turned purple to share his sadness.¹ The last few months of the journey were full of human activities mainly auspicious occasions including both Buddhist ceremonies and Brahministic rituals inside and outside the palace. The journey ends in the fourth month completing the twelve months cycle of the year. In the concluding section of the poem comes the final erotic stanzas. Then the poet praises the King. The purpose of composition was stated and names of the authors given.

1. The sympathetic attitude of nature towards the love-sick poet is frequently reflected. See for instance, stanzas, 36, 38, 39, and 40.

The structure of the poem may be drawn as follows:





Kāp Hō̄ Khlōng Nirāt Phrabāt ¹

Another poem to be considered under type A is the 18th century Kāp Hō̄ Khlōng Nirāt Phrabāt by Prince Thamāthibēt (1715 - 1755). It is composed in the Kāp Hō̄ Khlōng style on the journey to the Buddha footprint near Saraburī.² The poem has been regarded as having high literary value not only because of its wellknown aesthetic poetical diction alone, but also because of the poet's imaginative or even imaginary use of flora and fauna as well as elements of time to express the sadness of his absence from love.

Even though the poet stated clearly that the poem was composed on the occasion of an actual journey to Thānsōk (stanzas 85 - 89), there was no mention of the locales along the way. Moreover, as the Prince has conceded towards the end of the poem that it was a

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1. This Nirāt poem includes Nirāt Thānsōk and Nirāt Thān Thōngdaeng. However, as Nirāt Thān Thōngdaeng contains no Nirāt element in our definition, only Nirāt Thānsōk will be considered.
 2. Kāp Hō̄ Khlōng is a type of verse arrangement in which a Kāp stanza is followed by a Khlōng stanza but the gist of the subject matter of the two stanzas is virtually the same.

poetical tradition that learned men compose poems to express the pain of love separation when they travel, the composition of this poem must have given him his intellectual consciousness and satisfaction (stanza 149). He admitted this in the following stanza pointing out to his readers that his melancholic expression was merely imaginary.

"This poem of separation from womankind,
Pronouncing love-longing and sorrow.
I have composed in the way of tradition,
But my love and I are together,
Never separated from each other." ¹

The love stimulants and the elements of time used in Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt have been reorganized, refined and expanded. There is also the extraction of the natural phenomena giving separate treatment as an extra section.

This poem has no invocation. The poet first gives the name of the author which is followed by the "preliminary to separation" section. In this section the poet first speaks of the pleasure of his physical union with his

1. ^VChao Fā Thamāthibēt, Phra Prawat Lae Bot Roi Krōng, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 1962, p.101, stanza 150.

beloved and in the process expresses his admiration for her beauty describing each part of her body starting from her hair moving gradually downward until he finally reaches her feet claiming his admiration and possession of every inch of her body. Then at the conclusion of the section, the poet wrote:

"I have enjoyed your flesh, your beauty,
 Given it a place in adoration to eternity.
 Oh, beloved, no other woman on this earth,
 Could equal the splendour of your immortal beauty.
 Oh, Fate, why this separation,
 And the suffering caused by this journey,
 Far away from love, from your flesh,
 I weep and sob yearning for you."¹

Then the chronological process begins. The poet made use of every conceivable element of time to express the pain of separation, beginning at seven o'clock in the morning - i.e. the first hour of the day according to Siamese reckoning, travelling through the twenty-four hours of the day. The journey continued from Sunday

1. Ibid., p. 56.

through the seven days of the week then moved on through the twelve months of the year, the three seasons of the year and finally, the twelve years cycle. One stanza was used for each element of time. The last section of the poem, the natural phenomena, includes trees, flowers, fruits, birds, beasts and fish, in that order. Names of these natural phenomena serve as love stimulants whereby the poet expressed his love melancholy. Every aspect of nature at any hour of day, every sight, sound, smell and touch seems to accentuate his loneliness. From these natural objects too the poet learned wisdom. He recalled his course of love and past relationship with his beloved when he observed what part love played in the function of the flowers, in the elements of time, and in the behaviour of animals. All these remind him of the intimacy and affection which should exist between those who are pledged to each other. It is a basic feature in this type of poetry that no matter how long the poem, each stanza must in it evoke this requisite mood. And, in the end, convention demands that the poet compares his own sadness of separation with that of wellknown literary characters and Prince Thamāthibēt compared his with Rāma-Sīda, and Anirut-Usā, to heighten the sadness of his emotion.

The poem can be outlined as follows:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Opening | Name of the author
Purpose of composition
Erotic prelude | hair
foot of hair
forehead
eyebrows
eyes
eyelids
nose
mouth
chin
cheeks
teeth
tongue
ears
face
neck
shoulders
breasts
hands
arms
fingers
waist
belly
navel
hip
legs
shins
knees
feet
toes |
| 2. Preliminary
to separation | Parts of the body | |

3. Chronological setting
- Hours
 - Days
 - Months
 - Seasons
 - Years
4. Natural setting
- Trees
 - Flowers
 - Fruits
 - Birds
 - Beasts
 - Fish
5. Closing
- Literary characters
 - Rāmā-Sīdā
 - Anirut-Usā
 - Name of Composition
 - Purpose of Composition
 - Name of Author

Other poems to be classified under type A include Nirāt Phra Rāṭchaniphon Krom Phra Rāṭchawang Bōwōn Mahā Surasinghanāt, Nirāt Duan by Nai Mī, Ramphan Philāp by Sunthōn Phū, and others.

Type B: The oldest poem of this type will now be taken into consideration.

Rāchā Philāp Kham Chan

Even though this poem was composed at the same time as Thawāthotsamāt and Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprat¹ Rāchā Philāp Kham Chan itself has never reached the same level of popularity and recognition as the other two poems. Apart from the manuscript in the National Library in Bangkok, its only appearance is probably in the Wachirāyan Journal of February 1902 printed under the title "Nirāt Sīdā".

However, the view of Thanit Yūphō should be recorded. He was of the opinion that Nirāt Sīdā or Rāchā Philāp Kham Chan was probably composed at some late date, after the composition of the text ^VChindāmanī, but stanzas which

1. As they were both mentioned in ^VChindāmanī where some of the stanzas are quoted.

appeared in *Chindāmanī* were inserted into the poem.¹

He also observed:

"It is understood that Phra Hōrāthibōdī might have taken some stanzas from the old Kham Phāk (sung and spoken chorus material) which former poets had composed for the Khōn performance or as a text but which had been lost. Only three or four stanzas were found and taken to be used as examples in *Chindāmanī*".²

The poem was composed in nine varieties of Chan verse forms expressing the melancholy of the love-longing of Rāmā, yearning for his abducted wife Sīdā. The poem tells the story of Rāmā searching the forest for Sīdā. He met the monkeys and the birds who told him the direction in which he should go to try to recover his wife. Even though the journey was an imaginary one and no place names could be mentioned in the poem, the excursional process was constantly used. For instance, Rāmā ran into the birds who told him about the trace which Sīdā had left for him with the monkeys. He then travelled to find the monkeys who presented him with a shawl which Sīdā had left, with a message that

1. See Thanit Yūphō, Khōn, (Treatise on Masked Dance Drama), Kurusaphā Series, No. 911, Bangkok, 1964 pp. 130-131.

2. See Khōn, Ibid., p. 130-131.

she was being taken away by a demon. The preparation of the monkey army to follow Sīdā to the city of Longkā and finally the beginning of the movement of the army are all described. Rāmā's agony, doubt, and fear, his worry and concern for Sīdā, were expressed in connection with the presence of streams, birds, fruits, and trees, which reminded him of his past activities and relationship with Sīdā. Here again we find that natural objects are brought into play as love stimulants when the poet imagines himself to be the hero Rāmā expressing the universal effect of love-in-separation working in the psychology of the human heart, its tantrums, its vagaries, its depths of feeling and its restlessness in separation. Landscape and sadness together evoke thoughts and reflections of the past especially the happy past when in union with his beloved and when he was leading his life as a prince before leaving the city.

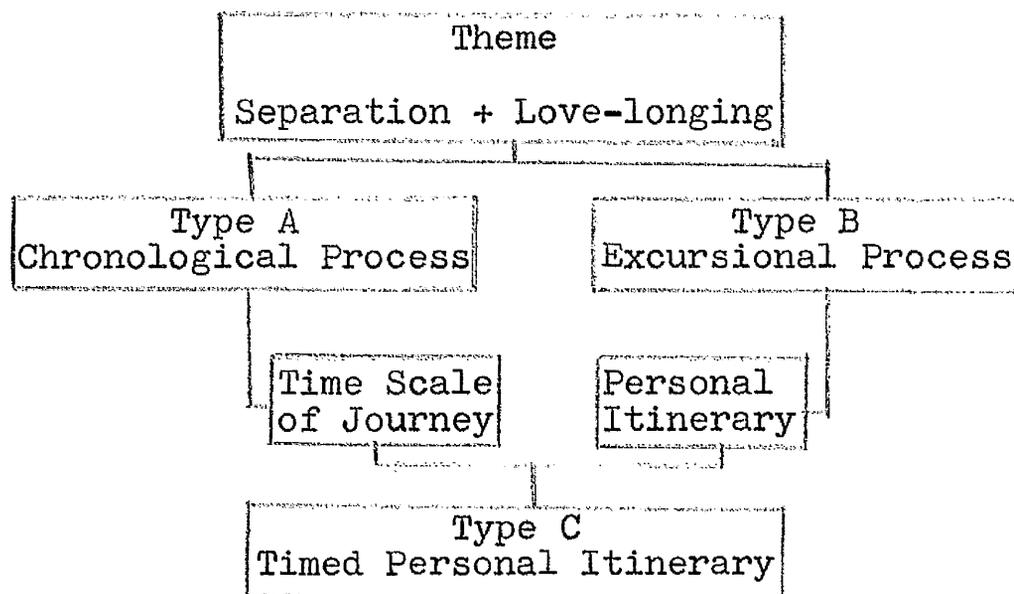
The poem is divided into sections indicated by the use of different Chan verse forms. Sixteen sections can be divided in this way. Nine varieties of Chan verse forms are used, each being indicated by the number of the syllables at the beginning of each section.

1. Introduction: Sīdā has disappeared.
2. The agony of Rāmā: Melancholy of Separation.
3. Revelation of past relationship.
4. Praise of Sīdā's beauty. Parts of the body.
5. Revelation of past happy life as a prince.
6. The difficulty of the journey and the sad incident of losing Sīdā.
7. Expressions of doubts, fear, worry and concern.
8. Prayed to the Gods asking for the protection of Sīdā.
9. Meeting with the birds.
10. Meeting with the monkeys.
11. Plan to regain Sīdā.
12. Meeting with a bird who gave Rāmā Sīdā's ring.
13. Plan to take revenge.
14. The meaning of regaining Sīdā.
15. Preparation for the search.
16. Beginning of the search.

Other later poems to be classified under type B include Nirāt Inao, Nirāt Phiphēk, Nirāt Phrarot-Merī and Nirāt Phra Aphaimanī, Nirāt Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, etc.

Another model will now be proposed. Here the chronological process is converted into a time scale which is applied to a particular journey. The excursionsal process goes through a qualitative change

which results in the conversion of the character of a literary figure or figures to the poet writing about himself in his own poem.



The fictional excursion described becomes the description of an actual journey taken at a prescribed moment or period and in a prescribed geographical setting. The poet, in the main, becomes more explicitly personalized as he talks directly of himself. This conversion process results in the emergence of type C, the timed personal itinerary and will be postulated as the Nirāt type. The theme of love-longing is not, of course, lost. It is the essential basic feature, but the process involved in type A and B have been refined and particularized.

To illustrate type C, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai will be taken into consideration.

Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai

Scholars have unanimously agreed that Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai was one of the first works of Nirāt poetry. Prince Damrong was of the opinion that the poem was probably the oldest Nirāt poem. Its style of composition and its content have served as the model for many Nirāt poems of the Ayuthayā and Ratanakōsin periods.¹ The poem was composed in the Khlōng Sī Suphāp verse form first in the Northern (lao) dialect but was later converted into the central Thai dialect probably during the reign of King Nārai (1656-1688).² This fact was stated in the last stanza of the poem.

"Changing and revising this poem from Lao Khlōng is very difficult.

They composed their verse with many tricks of style.

They are skillful in writing about women, their work is handed down to us.

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1. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Preface to Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, Bangkok, 1924.
 2. Ibid., Preface.

So I have prepared the text just enough to make it suitable for presentation to the King."

The date of composition was first fixed by Prince Damrong as 1638 on the basis of evidence found in stanzas 1 and 9 where the poet mentioned the year of the ox as the date of his departure for the journey and where he mentioned a historical Buddha image "Phra Phutthasihing" in Chiangmai. This led Prince Damrong to conclude that the year the poet made his journey might have been 1638 since the Buddha image was in Chiangmai between 1407-1662 and the year 1638 happened to be the year of the ox nearest to King Nārai's reign. So, said the Prince, it was during the reign of King Prāsātthōng that the poem was composed in the Khlōng Lao style and the conversion was made in the next reign for the King. Later, however, Prasoet Na Nakhōn in his more comprehensive study of the poem gave rather convincing evidence that the poem was probably composed in 1517.² This was attested to by the mentioning of the Emerald Buddha in stanza 16. Historical evidence has shown that the Emerald Buddha was in Chiangmai from 1468-1548. It is

1. Ibid., p.45.

2. Prasoet Na Nakhōn, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, Op. Cit.

therefore very probable that the year of the ox which the poet mentioned was 1517.

This anonymous poem is the first complete Nirāt work. The author gave an account of his journey on a pilgrimage from Chiangmai to pay homage to the relic shrine Phrathāt Haripunchai in Lamphūn. The journey took two days and one night. The significant feature of this poem is its Buddhistic nature and the author stated that one of the purposes of his composition was to provide a record of such a journey (stanza 181), and more specifically for his beloved, Srīthip, to read (stanza 180). Indeed by composing a poem recording this religious journey together with expression of love-longing as a dedication to his beloved, the poet has succeeded in reassuring his love and loyalty towards her. At the same time by reading the poem, the beloved has been given the opportunity to share in the religious devotion so that some of the merit which the poet had acquired should accrue to her as well. This is probably why the poet gave a detailed description of the shrine including the night celebrations and other activities including his own religious activities

while staying at the religious site, which is also the destination of the journey. Moreover, place names chosen for mention in the poem are predominantly names of Buddhist monasteries thus accentuating the atmosphere of this religious journey. Twenty locations out of twenty-eight are names of monasteries. The poet also emphasized features such as the history of Buddha images, the ceremonies and celebrations which had taken place in these monasteries. In many cases, the poet introduces the aspect of personal worship, He prays for his beloved; for her safety and protection. It is also a fundamental feature of this type of composition that the poet expresses his personal emotion. This has both a religious and an amatory aspect and the personal approach is heightened rather than reduced by the introduction late in the poem of characters in literature who are also in a state of separation and grief. The feelings of these characters are then compared with the poet's own emotion. This differs from poems such as Rāchā Philāp Kham Chan in which the literary characters and their supposed emotions provided the main motive force.

The poem can be divided into four sections.

1. Introduction

The first two lines of the opening stanza give a brief invocation. The poet made obeisance to the Lord Buddha, the Buddhist scriptures, the disciples of the Buddha, and then to the King. The date of departure is then stated. It was Tuesday, the eleventh month in the year of the ox. Then followed the place of destination and the purpose of composition. Indeed, the poem represents the poet's personal itinerary together with his personal expression of love-longing, yearning by himself for his own beloved and from the feeling felt by his heart, though conventionally sentimental, arising out of the actual experiences of the journey. The journey was made at a specific time which has been clearly dated, going to a specific place with a specific purpose. Consequently, the poet wrote:

"I shall put into verse my words of love,
For you, beloved, while I am separated,
Far away from you."¹

1. Ibid., p.2.

And,

"O, beloved, I shall compose this poem
of separation,

So beautiful for the world to know and
think upon."¹

The next three stanzas give the descriptions of the beauty and virtue of the beloved. We learn that she was a princess, extremely beautiful and her name was Thip. Her beauty was compared with the beauty of an Apsara.

"You are more beautiful than Apsara,

O, my most desirous and beloved princess.

The meritorious deeds I have compiled,

In my past ten thousand lives,

Only help to fulfill all my desire for you."²

2. The Journey

This is the main and most important section. The poet stated clearly that the journey was to start in Chiangmai and to go to Haripunchai in order to pay homage to the relic shrine at the Phrathāt (stanza 8). Then he proceeded to give a brief description of the preparations for the journey and of those who were to

1. Ibid., p.3

2. Ibid., p.3

go with him on this pilgrimage; horses, elephants, carts, and boats getting ready to leave. This indicates that the journey might have involved travel both by the river and also by land. The first locale mentioned has some religious significance and overtone emphasizing the importance of the occasion, to justify the reason for his journey and to strengthen the feeling of love-separation. The poet first passed Wat Phrasing where one of the most revered Buddha images Phra Phutthasihing, was housed. He stopped to pay his homage to the image before continuing on the journey. Then he reached Wat Thungyū, Wat Sirikeot and Wat Phākian where he prayed and made merit and wished to return to meet his beloved again. At the Mangrai Tower, the name given to the founder of the Kingdom, he prayed but only to ask for his beloved to be with him.

"I prayed to you, the royal spirit
Mangrai,

Send forth Srīthip my beloved.

I shall offer you long candles as
thanksgiving.

To you who dwells in heaven above."¹

1. Ibid., p.7

Again, upon arriving at Wat Chēt, he prayed and expressed his melancholy when he could not see his beloved there.

"At Wat Chēt I pray to the Buddha Image.

I grieve, dearest Thip, I do not see you here.

And I cry out with so much love and tears.

At Wat Chang Taem I miss you even more."¹

While travelling within the city Wall of Chiangmai the poet used each stanza to mention a place name. Sometimes two locales were mentioned in one stanza. Not until the poet left the outer gate of the city did the description become longer. At this point, the poet devoted twelve stanzas to give a description of his love-melancholy, the scenery along the way, the carts and animals used for the journey, and even the beauty of his beloved.

Between Wat Mangrai and the next monastery, the poet and his company stopped to rest. He spent some sixteen stanzas describing the trees, activities of the people and animals who were with him, other human activities, and his melancholy of love separation. At a pavilion (sālā) near a market, where the poet spent

1. Ibid., p.9

the night, he took pains to describe the night scenery of the Mae Ping River, and later the activities of the people at the market. Then he went on to give descriptions of the scenery as well as of the activities of the different times of the day, from evening to night and then the morning scene. These long passages which the poet had employed to describe natural objects in connection with the love-longing theme during his resting period on the journey indicates that the poem itself, or at least its conceived plan, was actually composed during the journey.

3. The Destination

As the cause of separation in this poem is a pilgrimage to one of the most sacred religious monuments in the Lao Kingdom at the time, it can be established at this point that such a journey was regarded as a highly meritorious religious act, worthy of separation. Indeed, this belief is still held universally today. Consequently, the descriptions as well as any activities seen and personally engaged in by the poet should be given both for the benefit of the author as the giver of religious information and for the reader as the receiver of such information. However, in the Nirāt poem such

as this one, the theme of love-longing does stand out because the description of any objects and activities was never given without reference to the beloved. Moreover, it can be seen that detailed description of an important religious site together with activities of the devout believers of any religion normally give further implication. As it has been mentioned in *Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt*, together with love-longing, there are descriptions of the fertility of the Kingdom, unfailing rains, well watered rivers, well grown trees, abundance of birds and beasts, and the devotion of the people at work and festivities. These elements, together with general prosperity are ascribed to the righteous rule of the sovereign. Effectively in *Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai* we find that religious prosperity has been emphasized and almost half of the poem is devoted to the description of the religious shrine *Phrathat Haripunchai* and all the religious activities at the site.¹

Before arriving at the place of destination the

1. 74 out of the total 180 stanzas are employed in this section, i.e. from stanza 96 to 180.

poet used three stanzas to express his love-longing again. He must have felt very sorry and sad that his beloved was not with him to see such an important shrine. He gave the legendary history of the birth and construction of Haripunchai before praising the beauty and the splendour of the shrine itself.

Upon catching sight of the shrine, the poet wrote:

"The splendour of Phrathāt has appeared to my eyes.

Oh, the most magnificent shrine of all the people,

Who have kept, improved and cared for it,

With all their pious hearts.

It is glistening luminously bright shining out for you."

The poet then went on to describe the fences surrounding the Shrine and the four Vihāra at the cardinal points, the great number of the people showing their devotion, the beautiful women who led him to think of the absence of his beloved. He engaged himself in religious piety using candles, incenses, and flowers, the meritorious result of which he prayed

1. Ibid., p.40, stanza 104.

to be given to his beloved. Nevertheless, Indra was invoked and the flowers and candles were offered to him so that the poet could return safely to his separated love (stanzas 108-116).

More description of the buildings, the vihāra, the Buddha images, the offerings, and the people are given again when the poet started to look around the compound. He also gave detailed description of different kinds of dances and performances both during the day time and at night. Some of these are interesting and still need further study in order to be able to give them their correct identification. In stanza 130, for instance, the poet told about saloei in which a group of people danced holding peacock feathers in their hands waving them back and forth. They also had rolls of silver and gold paper behind their ears. They danced in the style of heavenly beings whose main duty was to sing and dance to entertain the gods.¹ He also gave description of the dance movements and the costume of the dancers in the next three stanzas. Then he told about the R_abam danced by the Nakkhun dancers,

1. Ibid., p.47, stanza 130.

the term Nakhun has already appeared in Traiphum of King Lithai of Sukhothai.¹ There were also acrobatic performances like sainang (two people walking on a leather string) and tai dāp (walking on the edge of a sword).

Later, the poet went on a religious excursion to pay homage to Buddha images near the Shrine. Here again he took pains to describe each image he worshipped and prayed, mingling his religious duty with love melancholy but constantly asking that the result of his deeds be shared by his beloved. He then returned to the shrine where the King and the Queen Mother were also present. There was a great celebration including a display of fireworks on that night. The poet spent one night at the shrine. He made obeisance to the shrine and returned to Chiangmai.

4. Conclusion

The last section of the poem includes the bringing in of literary characters from the Jataka stories who suffered the similar fate of love-separation so that the

1. See King Lithai, Traiphūm Phra Ruang, Bangkok 1960, p.87.

poet could compare his own sadness with theirs. Some of the characters have not yet been identified. Six stanzas are devoted to the comparison of eight pairs of literary characters including Rāmā and Sīdā from the Rāmāyana. Then the poet expressed his love melancholy for the last time and, in the last two stanzas, emphasized the purpose of his composition. The place of destination is given again. The number of stanzas is also stated. He said in the end that he was sad to be separated from Thip and composed this poem in order to present it to her to read. The composition is also a "traditional record of events (tammān ၵံၵံၵံ) which should be preserved."¹

1. See stanzas 180 and 181, Ibid., p.64.

CHAPTER 3

KHLŌNG KAMSUAN SĪPRĀT AND ITS TRADITION

If it is easy to appreciate that Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai from the North emerges as the first Nirāt poem involving the itinerary of an actual journey and to see how the Nirāt theme of love-longing appears in association with the place names as well as the natural objects in that poem, nevertheless, it is another poem which has been regarded as most prominent in the Thai tradition. This is Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. The poem concentrates more specifically and simply on the journey expressing the poet's emotion in accordance with the convention which calls for the erotic mood to be revealed by the very theme of love-in-separation. This expression manifests the imaginative protestations of human sorrow on the part of the poet as he chooses place names along the way which are eminently suited as the poetic background for sorrow and anguish and emotional situations related to anguish. Place names and objects seen at these places are used to denote an awe and solemnity attending the poet's sorrow. Each stanza of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt is composed with great relish

and subtlety and with strong human passions mingling with the descriptions of the landscape and natural settings appropriate to these passions. It should be emphasized that Sīprāt's descriptions are often imaginative but never imaginary. He often used his imagination, creative faculty or descriptive power but only to depict the reality as best as it could be done in the poem. In this way, he succeeds in reproducing in words, as nearly as possible, the actual scenes from nature as he knew and saw them before his eyes. He developed a special technique to relate these scenes by expressing his love-longing. This he has achieved with the great skill of a master. He wrote with the language of frankness and sophistication, his expressions are strong and passionate, and yet the poetical value of his Khlōng verse is supreme. His poem sets the convention for Khlōng Nirāt poems of the later dates both during the Ayuthayā and the Ratanakōsin periods. Chanthit Krasaesin has rightly observed:

"Sīprāt was a man of strong passion. He often composed and expressed his own feeling with great subtlety. This is why the readers of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt are deeply moved by his expression of melancholy and their emotions flow along with his words in the poem. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that later poets often make use

of, as well as imitate the way and idioms in which Sīprāt had composed."¹

Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt

From the nine existing manuscripts of Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt in the National Library, it has been found that there are many differences both in orthography, the use of certain items of vocabulary, as well as the number of stanzas. Some manuscripts contain only 112 stanzas while others have as many as 120. Our study follows the work of Chanthit Kraesin's Prachum Wanakhadī Phāk Nung, Kamsuan Sīprāt which using all the available material in the manuscripts contains 130 stanzas in all.²

Kamsuan Sīprāt is an incomplete poem. It is believed that the original manuscript and all the complete copies were destroyed by fire during the sack of Ayuthayā in 1767. The existing manuscripts were probably written out from memory, or otherwise copied from other manuscripts which are either incomplete or it is possible that the copiers made many mistakes in rewriting the stanzas of the poem. Nevertheless the fact that the name Khlong

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1. Chanthit Kraesin, Prachum Wanakhadī Phāk Nung, Bangkok, 1951, p. 7.
 2. Two other manuscripts of the same poem; Phō Na Pramuanmāk's Kamsuan Sīprāt Nirāt Narin and the Fine Arts Department's Prawat Lae Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt both contain 129 stanzas.

Kamsuan appears in the text *Chindāmanī* as Kamsuan Samut alongside Upāthawāthot and Rachāphilāp points to the likelihood that it was composed not later than King Narai's reign (1656-1678).

The poem is attributed to Sīprāt, the poet, believed to be the son of Phra Hōrāthihōdī who is the author of the text *Chindāmanī* of King Nārai's reign. However, the name Sīprāt has often been the subject of dispute among scholars. Many have tried to construct his life and attempted to fix the dates of his compositions. Moreover, because of the fact that Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt itself is incomplete and the poem has many old words (many of which are still obscure), these vocabulary items have made it even more difficult to place the poem near to its actual date.¹ Moreover, different works believed to have been

1. See Chanthit Krasaesin, *Op. Cit.* p. 7. This fact has also led some regionally minded Thais to think that some stanzas in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt were probably composed by Phrayā Trang. This rather wild assumption was based on Phrayā Trang's life and two words believed to be of Southern dialect *sāyā* and *plīa*. The fact is that *sāyā* is found in Lilit Yuan Phai and also in Khlōng Thawāhotsamāt. See Khōng Dī Pak Tai, No. 1, January 1968, pp. 40-51.

A geographical study of Sīprāt's route of journey has also been attempted in order to find the date in which canals and rivers were believed to have been formed. See Mānit Wanliphodom, *Tam Rūa Bai Khathing Thōng* in Kamsuan Sīprāt Nirāt Narin, *Op. Cit.* pp. 296-309.

composed by the same author appear to be rather different in their use of language, vocabulary, as well as styles.¹

An account of Sīprāt as a poet was recorded in two Chronicles: Kham Hai Kān Chao Krung Kao and Kham Hai Kān Khun Luang Hā Wat.² Both Chronicles recorded the incident about the literary crime which the poet was said to have committed by composing love poetry courting one of the King's palace ladies. Consequently, he was sent into exile to Nakhōn Srī Thamarāt where he committed a similar literary crime and was executed. Before his death he wrote a famous passionate Khlōng stanza calling for the same sword to avenge his death. His wish became true when the King was in need of the able poet and asked for his return. The King was too late. He found that Sīprāt had been beheaded and so he instructed that the Governor of Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, who had ordered Sīprāt's death, be executed by the same sword, which had decapitated the poet.

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1. Sīprāt works include, Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, Anirut Kham Chan, and several other Khlōng stanzas appear in Khlōng Kawī Bōrān.
 2. For the extracts of these two Chronicles concerning the life of Sīprāt see Chanthit Krasaesin, Op. cit. pp. 3 - 7.

Relying on these two Chronicles together with Phrayā Trang's Khlōng Kawī Bōrān (poems from the old Capitals) compiled during Rama II's reign, Phrayā Pariyat Thamathādā (Phae Talālak) constructed and published an article called Tamnān Sīprāt (the Legend of Sīprāt).¹ He concluded that Sīprāt was the name of the poet who was sent into exile to Nakhōn Sīthamarāt because he composed a witty but offensive khlōng poem to one of the ladies of King Narai's palace, who had previously offended him.

Another Thai scholar, Professor M.R. Sumonchāt Sawatdikun held a different view. He pointed out that Sīprāt was not necessarily the name of a particular person but an official title which different persons might bear. He suggested that it was in fact different poets of the same title (i.e. Sīprāt) who composed different literary works such as Anirut Khamchan, Kamsuan Sīprāt, and certain Khlōng stanzas in Phrayā Trang's compilation of Khlōng Kawī Bōrān. Moreover, because

1. This article was first published in Withayāchān Journal. Now it can also be seen in Phō Na Pramuanmāk, Kamsuan Sīprāt Nirāt Narin, Bangkok, 1968, pp 22-62. See also Phrayā Trang, Khlōng Kawī Bōrān Lae Wanakam Phrayā Trang, Bangkok, 1962, pp. 123.

of the old words and certain vocabulary items employed in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, this Nirāt poem could have been composed sometime during the reign of King Bōromatrailōkanāt (1448-1478) because the language is comparable to that of Mahāchāt Khamluang and Lilit Yuan Phai.¹

In a detailed study of this poem, Chanthit Krasaesin has decided with every appearance of certainty, that Sīprāt was a name, not a title. It was the name of a poet living during the reign of King Nārai and his successor, King Phētrāchā, and it was this King who sent Sīprāt to Nakhōn Sīthamarāt. The date of composition has been set at 1692 because it was the year in which a naval expedition on which the poet could have been sent was dispatched to Nakhōn Sīthamarāt.² Thanit Yūphō in his study of Kamsuan Sīprāt ruled out Chanthit Krasaesin's thesis. He maintained that the literary crime incident in fact occurred during the

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1. M.R. Sumonchāt Sawatdikun's query into the title of Sīprāt was first published in Wong Wanakhadi Journal See Winitchai Ruang Kamsuan Sīprāt, Wong Wanakhadi, May, 1947.
 2. It should be noted that Chanthit Krasaesin has missed the very important fact that the name Kamsuan Samut was mentioned in Chindāmanī which was composed long before 1692.

reign of King Nārai.¹

Although the present state of historical studies of the Thai language does not make it possible to be definite, the argument for an early date based on linguistic comparison is a strong one. Whether or not Sīprāt was primarily a title rather than a name, there is convincing evidence that a certain individual, whose life contained those incidents which have been referred to did exist. From the typological point of view the actual dates of the author Sīprāt are not of the first importance, especially if an early date for Khlōng Haripunchai is accepted.

Because the poem is incomplete, the available material can be conceived as having only two parts:

1. Invocation

The poem begins in the Rai verse.² This, it must be noted, has been characteristically used as one of the basic features of many Khlōng Nirāt poems in the Ratanakōsin period. In fact, it is not only the Rai

1. See Prawat Lae Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt (Biography of Sīprāt and the Poem Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt), Bangkok, 1970, pp. 82.
2. This Rai beginning has become the basic format in which almost all other Khlōng Nirāt poets of later dates used to begin their poems.

style that has been copied here, but also certain parts of the Rai itself - with some modifications as well. The Rai invocation opens with the praise of the beauty and glory of the city of Ayuthayā. It was compared with the city of Brāhma. Then the Khlōng stanzas followed. Fourteen stanzas were used to expand the Rai in praising the City, the temples, the Chēdī, the Vihāra, the Buddha images, the pavilion, the pulpits were all described as beautiful and majestic. Indeed, this aspect of religious prosperity is an indirect praise of the sovereign whose just rule could be seen through his patronage of Buddhism resulting in the construction of temples with beautiful compounds and of decorative and tasteful architectural designs. The Royal Palace is then described and its beauty praised together with the ponds and the garden with flowers. Then the poet concluded that the three gems of Buddhism had been firmly established and prospered to the point that the Earth shone brightly. Finally, he moved on to give descriptions of the city walls and gates with war towers and then the activities of the happy ordinary subjects of the King. The happiness

of the people is vividly depicted especially through their dancing and singing happily early in the evening and at night. Their love and courting activities were also described including his own love activities with his beloved. Ayuthaya was a civilized city then not only in that its people were happy and devoted to their religion but also culturally conscious with their music, singing, and hair styles. They even had trumpets sounding to signal the hours of the day. This section ends with the poet expressing his worry and concern about leaving his beloved behind. Again, it must be noted that this aspect of expression has been the favourite message which later Nirāt poets often included in their poems.

This invocation section underlines the poet's longing for the happy and ideal place which he had to leave. He emphasized the importance of the place and the memorable objects at the place making them so significant that they were never to be forgotten. All the beautiful things were repeatedly described and his intimate relationship with his beloved revealed. Indeed, the happy life at the place of origin of the

journey and the woman with whom the poet was so passionately in love and must leave behind suddenly made the journey an extremely sad one and thus creates strong nostalgic feelings. The situation is made even sadder for Sīprāt, who was on a journey supposedly into exile, not knowing when he would be able to return. This piece of internal evidence helps to strengthen even more the value of the poem which is already a great work. Thinking of Ayuthayā the poet wrote:

"Ayuthayā the city of splendour,
 Was it sent to Earth from Heaven,
 Or was it built by the virtuously meritorious
 King ?
 So beautiful the Chēdīs, like Indra's castle,
 Painted in gold outside and gold within."¹

When the poet recalled the moment he was with his beloved, he wrote:

"When it gets dark, I told you I would come,
 You said to me be sure it's dark, and not still

1. Prachūm Wannakhadī Thai Phāk Nung, Kamsuan Sīprāt, Op. cit., p.40.

day.

When I came at night we made love together,
 Until the moment I must leave, you cried,
 Begging me to return to you again."¹

And before beginning his journey, the poet expressed his worries and concern:

"If I am to leave you with Indra, he might court you.

He might take you to his heavenly Palace.

If I am to trust you to this Earth,

How then could it resist the power of its Lord,

Who might take you away from me."²

2. The Journey

Stanza 16 marks the beginning of this section. The journey was to be by boat. The poet revealed the sad moment when he bade farewell to his beloved to embark in his ship. He wrote:

"With the feeling of loneliness we bid farewell
 Many women sobbed with their beloved as I

1. Ibid., p.54.

2. Ibid., p.56.

embarked.

Farewell, my sweet, I turned to look for you.

We conveyed the same message, beloved."¹

The next stanza begins the itinerary of the journey. Throughout the journey, the poet expressed the melancholy of separation. This seems to be the predominant characteristic of the poem. The sadness was developed and the message conveyed through the names of places through which he travelled. Place names were mentioned to relate his sad feelings of love separation.

Early in the poem, the poet devoted each stanza to mentioning each place name. Only twice are two place names mentioned in the same stanzas. Arriving at a place, the poet may ask the place or any natural objects he saw fit, to be his messenger, he may ask gods or spirits to protect his beloved, he may reveal his past relationship with her, or he may simply express the melancholy of separation.

At K_o Rian, for instance, he lamented:

1. Ibid., p.58.

"As I arrived at K_o Rian, I asked the Island
to deliver my message to you,

At K_o Kh_om I cried out for the Kh_om people to
see for themselves,

That I was blind with passion,

With tears in my eyes, my heart lamented."¹

And, at Kaeo Phung, the poet expressed his concern
at leaving her and revealed his personal relationship
with her:

"At B_ang Kaeo Phung, I wished you had sent
me your love,

How had my beloved been keeping, I wondered,

Were you thin and sick because of sadness,

Without you, who would comfort me when I have
choked myself while drinking.

I longed for you from morning till late."²

1. Ibid., p.61.

2. Ibid., p.68.

Later in the poem, more stanzas were injected between two place names. They include descriptions of flora and fauna, other natural phenomena (moon, wind, water, etc.), human activities and the beloved's personal characteristics. These were first employed in stanza 38 when the poet arrived at Ratanaphūm near Bangkok. In the next six stanzas, the poet gave descriptions of trees, animals, and the day of his departure. Five stanzas were employed to give descriptions of animal noises, trees, fruits, and the beauty of the beloved, when the poet arrived at Bāng rāmāt (stanzas 55-59). At Bān Khōm 11 stanzas contained the history of the place Bān Khōm, the description of birds, the moon, and some information about the poet's beloved. We learn here that his beloved was no ordinary woman because she read Mahāchāt Khamluang and knew how to play chess and sākā and her name was Thao Srīchulālak. Descriptions of the sea and the cold wind were given when the poet arrived at Pākphrawān. Five stanzas were used here. At Bāng Wā, presumably a place near the sea-shore, the description of the whales was given together with the expression of the

poet's fear of death. He prayed to the goddess Mēkkhalā to protect his beloved if he died.

The poet composed more stanzas, giving detailed descriptions of things he saw at each place, and put more expression of his sad feelings together with recollections of the memory of his beloved, when he spent a longer time at such a place. Ratanaphūm was probably the first place the poet spent his night on the ship.

Upon his arrival at each place, the poet recalls the place name. Throughout the poem one has a list of place names as an itinerary of the journey. The meanings of these place names and the objects there serve as the most vital link between the poet and his beloved as he expresses sad emotions and feelings of love-longing through them. The theme of Nirāt recurs whenever a place name is mentioned. The technique of punning may be used to relate feelings to his beloved or the poet may transfer the meaning of the place name or transfer the word directly in order to achieve the same purpose. At times, upon arriving at a place, the poet may give descriptions of flora and fauna and

relate them to his beloved. He may give straight descriptions of human activities, the history of the people and of the place. While travelling between two places, a nostalgic recollection of the beloved may be revealed.

In this poem literary characters are also used to heighten the poet's expression of sorrow. Three pairs of heroes and heroines who suffered love-separation are used to compare with the poet's own sadness.

The poem was perhaps intended to be sent to his beloved as it was addressed to her throughout the poem with the first and second persons used as pronouns. The last stanza helps to support this:

"Keep this letter under your pillow, beloved.
Don't just read it for fun.
Let it be your companion in bed,
Every night, my love, every night."¹

Sīprāt has thus established himself as a master of Khlōng Nirāt. A large number of attempts was made

1. Ibid., p.192. Even though it has been suggested that this last stanza was added to the poem at a later date there is no reasonable ground to support this assumption. The stanza will be regarded as original.

in later times to imitate his poem, but Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt remains unsurpassed as the masterpiece of its kind in the realm of Thai Nirāt poetry. The poem has been praised as such. The intensity of the poet's feeling is set in the midst of a journey supported by his personal legend making it appropriate for an atmosphere of loneliness and longing. We find that in the earlier part of the poem, the description of the physical beauty of the city of Ayuthayā as part of the invocation, naturally accentuated the poet's sorrowing heart and in the following journey section, the poet skilfully framed his sense of association of the semantics of love by means of the linguistic diversity of the meanings of the locales throughout. The long separation and the uncertainty of reunion make the display of grief especially manly and its pathos real. The setting is real and the sense of sorrow in the poem is straight and vivid. All these help to achieve the very human and genuine expression of the erotic sentiment. Its vividness has led his readers to feel that the poem

really gives a poetic form to the author's actual personal experience.

Among Khlōng Nirāt poems composed in the Kamsuan Sīprāt tradition, three are believed to have been composed during the Ayuthayā period. Like Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, none of these three poems are complete. The earliest of the three, Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan has only 69 stanzas remaining. Only 25 stanzas have been found for each of the other two poems now known as Khlōng Nirāt Chao Fā Aphai and Khlōng Nirāt Phranāk Thā Sai both composed during the reign of King Bōromakōt of the late Ayuthayā period. (1732-1758).¹ As these two poems do not contribute significantly to the continuation of the tradition, they will not be considered here but Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan will be described below.

Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan

This Khlōng Nirāt poem is generally attributed to Phra Sī Mahōsot a poet who was active during King

1. The fractions of these two poems are part of Phrayā Trang's compilation of poems from the Old Capitals. See Phrayā Trang, Khlōng Kawī Borān Lae Wannakam Phrayā Trang, Bangkok, 1962, pp. 11-25.

Nārai reign. For the purpose of identification the poem is sometimes known as Nirāt Phra Sīmahōsot. It was composed during the poet's journey from Ayuthayā to Nakhōn Sawan accompanying King Nārai to accept the white elephant which was presented to the King in 1658. Only 69 stanzas of the poem survive. It was composed in the Khlōng Sī Suphāp style.

The available material only gives the account of the journey as far as Wang Sonyā which is probably a place name in Amphoe Sanphayā in Chaināt - an indication that the poem is unfinished. The poem can be studied in two sections.

1. Introduction

The poem shows the continuation of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt's tradition by opening with a Rai verse as an invocation. This is Brahministic. The poet first praised and worshipped the Lord Siva asking for his protection, guidance for direction, and a safe journey before leaving the great city of Ayuthayā. The following Khlōng stanzas expand and elaborate the invocation theme. Having stated that he was accompanying the King on a journey, the poet began to praise the beauty and the glory of the palace buildings, their

front entrances, the glittering decorations, the pointed heads of the Nāgās seen at the sky tassels, their windows all built with elaborate and beautiful architectural designs. Then he went on to describe the beauty of the temples, the alms-giving hall, the Vihāra, and etc. As it was a royal occasion, the poet gave detailed descriptions of the processions, the King himself, the horse carts, weapons and the troops. Then the descriptions of the people were given. Like Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, they were depicted as happy people dwelling in very beautiful, and highly civilized places. Having a King who ruled with Dhārma and justice they were a peaceful and pious people. A long description was then given of the procession of boats engaged in the journey.

2. The Journey

This section was clearly marked by the two stanzas before the first place name was mentioned. The poet, having eulogized the King, stated the nature of his journey. The place of destination is then given.

"I praise the virtues of the great King,
 And begin my journey by water.
 Accompanying him, the Lord of the land,
 To Nakhōn Sawan along the river.
 Along the river I see the water flows,
 And I think of you, beloved.
 I can see so far, far ahead of me,
 In sheer unity, the boats move along."¹

Even though the sadness of love separation is expressed in this poem, it is not as strong as that which has been found in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. Instead there are more descriptions of natural phenomena, and the activities of the journey itself. Very often the poet made use of the technique of pun and transfer but sometimes he only punned or transferred place names just to give the effect of straight description without reaching the point of mention of the beloved. Straight descriptions are given of flora and fauna and other objects such as

1. Khlōng Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan in Phō Na Pramuanmāk, Nirāt Narin Kham Khlōng Lae Nirāt Plīkyoi, Bangkok, 1970, p.152.

temples, and country scenes. Arriving at Phra-ngām temple he wrote:

"Phra-ngām temple is as beautiful as heaven,
The golden image shines brightly.
I pay homage to it with joy of piety.
Please let me return soon to my beloved
home."¹

At Phaniat, the wellknown place where the King rounded up elephants the poet gave a brief account of how elephants were caught. Upon arriving at each locale the poet hardly ever failed to give descriptions of what he saw at that place. At Rāṭchathēphī Island, he saw lots of sand and made use of the technique of the pun to think of the beauty of his own Thēphī (a lady or goddess, here referring to his beloved) who often made him feel that the journey was going to be a very long one (stanza 24). When he saw a field which was full of elephant and perennial grasses, in the bright night, the moon was shining and the gentle wind blowing, he thought of embracing his beloved

1. Ibid., p.153 Pun: ngām i) part of place name
ii) to be beautiful

(stanza 25). At Tambon Bān Pā he felt sad when he saw the cluttered and disorderly condition of the houses where the peasant lived. Dirty buffalo pens and cowbarns, together with scattered dried rice straw aroused pitiful feelings in him (stanza 28). Specific times of days were also mentioned such as evening, dark, night, morning etc. The poet showed that he could often genuinely admire the natural beauty of flowers, birds, fish and other animals as he mentioned them without having to relate them to his beloved. He admired different kinds of water-lily and many other flowers (stanza 31). In stanza 36 he described the pelicans, cattle egrets, the pond herons, the small warblers, the weaver birds, crows and hawks. As the journey continued the poet gave accounts of the activities of the journey itself. One night his company stopped to spend the night at the Sīmunī temple. The people were pleased and they came to pay homage to the King. The company left in the morning and the poet continued to give descriptions of the scenery he saw along the way.

Although the poem is incomplete, it can be seen

that the poet had followed the tradition of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt rather closely. The lack of sentiment is compensated for by the presence of straight descriptions of natural phenomena and human activities. These differences may be because of the difference in personal style and tastes but especially because of the outstanding power of poetical description which had made Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt much more appealing to both scholars and common readers. Another consideration is probably that Phra Sīmahōsot composed his poem in the intellectual tradition. During the reign of King Nārai poetry composition was one of the court's intellectual activities. The poet's feeling of sorrow on love-separation was not strongly depressed. It is important to note, however, that the technique of pun and transfer which was firmly established by Sīprāt had become a strong traditional force in the mind of a poet such as Phra Sīmahōsot, whose composition would not be very much later than that of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt: it can be clearly seen that this pressure to use the technique has led the poet to utilize the technique just for the sake of

using it to the point of superficiality.

Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt and Khlong Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan are the two prominent Nirāt poems which survived the destruction of Ayuthayā. They served as the model texts of traditional Khlong Nirāt, to which poets of the Ratanakōsin period looked. Then, when Bangkok was firmly established as the new capital of Siam, King Rāmā I tried to revive the arts of the Thais as much as he could. The Khlong composition was still regarded as prestigious inspite of the fact that Klōn Phlēng Yao (love epistle) composition was highly popular during King Bōromakōt's reign and was still popular during the Thonburī and early Ratanakōsin periods. Therefore, it can be supposed that poets in the court circle regarded Khlong composition as a way of maintaining their intellectual identification. Even though it is true that Rāmā I himself composed a Nirāt poem in the Klōn style it was perhaps meant to be of the Klōn Phlēng Yao type rather than a Nirāt poem. The same can be said about the poems of Krom Phrarātchawang Bōwōn Mahā Surasinghanāt. With this traditional intellectual tendency, poets with strong

palace orientation would prefer to compose their Nirāt poems in the Khlōng style until Sunthōn Phū emerged (first in the reign of Rāmā I but his impact was more strongly felt in the reign of Rāmā II). It was then that Nirāt poems developed into two main streams; the conventional Khlōng Nirāt and the more popular Klōn.¹ Nonetheless, the first three Khlōng Nirāt composed during early Ratanakōsin periods must now be dealt with. They are Khlōng Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lamnām Nḡi by Phrayā Trang composed during the reign of King Rāmā I, and Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang by Phrayā Trang and Khlōng Nirāt Narin by Narinthibēt both were composed during the reign of King Rāmā II. These three poems served as the link in the continuation of the Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt tradition while being themselves the model of Khlōng Nirāt composition at a later date.

Khlōng Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lamnām Nḡi

The poem was composed in the Khlōng Sī Dan style like that of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt and Khlōng

1. For a detailed discussion of Klōn Nirāt see Chapter 5.

Thawāthotsamāt. Indeed, Phrayā Trang was heavily influenced by both poems and in both of his Nirāt poems he quoted Thawāthotsamāt and Sīprāt as his models of love tinged with grief. Phrayā Trang compared their sadness to his own in the same way in which Sīprāt had compared his with literary characters. There is also clear evidence of linguistic imitation of Khlōng Kamsuan. Many vocabulary items do indeed come from Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. This is why scholars agree that on the first reading of Khlōng Nirāt poems by Phrayā Trang one would feel that the poems could be as old as Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt itself.¹

Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lamnām Nḡi was composed in 1795 when the poet accompanied King Rāmā I on a military expedition to attack Thawai (Tavoy), but the poem gave descriptions of the journey as far as Lam Maenam Noi in Kānchanaburī.²

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1. See P̄yāng Na Nakhōn, Prawat Wanakhadī Thai Samrap Nak S̄yksā, Bangkok 1955, p.458.
 2. The expedition cannot be fixed with any certainty. The given date, 1795, is based on P̄yāng Na Nakhōn. In fact it can be an expedition to Kānchanaburī in 1785. See Phra Rāṭchaphongsāwadān Krung Ratana Kōsin Rāṭchakān Thī N̄yng (Chronicle of the Ratanakōsin period, First Reign). Revised by Prince Damrong Rāchanuphāp, Bangkok 1935, pp. 98 - 105 and pp. 146 - 154.

The poem conventionally begins with a Rai to introduce the invocation praising the glory of the peaceful city which the poet was to leave to make the journey. The main distinctive character of this Nirāt poem is that it has two other Rai inserted at different places in between the Khlōng Dan stanzas giving the combination of the composition of the "Lilita" character.¹ The three Rai describe three aspects serving as the dominant elements of the poem; the city, the army, and the king. They are not used to express the author's love-longing as do most of the Khlōng stanzas.

The poem can be studied in three parts, the introduction, the journey, and the conclusion.

1. The Introduction

The poem opens with the Rai invocation praising the virtue of the king, the happiness of the people in Bangkok, and the fame of this city. This is expanded in the three Khlōng stanzas which follow, praising the city, the temples, the three gems and the king, in that order.

1. Otherwise used in narrative poems of epic-romance type.

The Military power of the country is then demonstrated. The poet described the King's generals, officers, soldiers and elephants and horses all of which were ready for war. A stanza was devoted to the description of the king himself as the ruler of the Earth. He was so full of justice and merit that no enemy could defeat him. Then followed the description of the king's command to draw up the army to go to war. The assembly of men of the army in a procession of boats getting ready to go.

The poet then expressed the pain of separation and compared the war against the enemy with the war of love which, can never be won. He praised her virtue and her beauty which were the source of his difficulty to leave. Then he expressed his worry and concern. This again, was one of the Kamsuan Sīprāt's traditions; when it comes to entrusting one's beloved with someone, even Brāhma and Isvāra (Siva) could not be trusted for she was so beautiful that even gods could not hide their desire. The poet, therefore, decided on leaving her with herself.

"I have thought of everything in the world.
 Even pain must be left with pain for curing
 I have thought of every means and find that
 your love
 Will never lessen if I leave you with
 yourself."

Having decided on this the poet gave his last word and said farewell to her (sang nirāt). His heart was scorched by the heat of separation and he felt as if he was dying. Then he embarked in the boat.

2. The Journey

This section opens with descriptions of the army moving in boats with great speed while the poet himself still felt confused and dizzy because of separation until he arrived at Khlōng Bāng Luang in Thonburī where he expressed his melancholy. He was sorry for her that she must be left alone. He felt that this journey was going to be as long as ten thousand years (stanza 17). Normally, one or two stanzas were employed to mention the place name and objects the poet saw there.

1. See Phō Na Pramuanmāk, Prachum Khlōng Nirāt, Bangkok, 1970, stanza 14, p.42

It is often found in this poem, however, that longer strings of stanzas were used between the two places for more descriptions of human activities and other elements the poet found significant to relay his love expression in the poem. Thus at a temple of the Brahmins where he caught sight of an image of an eight-armed god, he prayed to Isvāra asking the god to hide her at a safe place for him. The beauty of the image gave him the thought of his beloved's beauty and the bust of that image, naturally enough, reminded him of his beloved's breasts.

A description of human activities were given quite often in this poem. It is interesting to see how the poet selected and described these human activities and how he managed to link them with his beloved. The tendency, as one may rightly presume, is that the poet would choose to mention the activities of the women around him at the time and compare them to his beloved. At Thā Chīn, for example, the poet described the laughing and drinking of the Chinese women which was perhaps too loud according to the Thai standard, and compared this with the exemplary behaviour of his

beloved. Even the fishermen he mentioned at Muang Samut were all women. There he also gave a description of the women selling things. It was only at odd times that the military activities were described.

It is interesting to note how place names were chosen in connection with the number of the stanzas used either to express love melancholy or to elaborate and make use of other natural objects found at those places as love stimulants. Here, of course, the poet made his selection on semantic grounds. The meaning of any place name mentioned must be meaningfully convenient to the emotional expression of sorrow. Some must be suggestive and therefore suitable to the poet's erotic mood.

At Thā Rancuan, for instance, the term "rancuan" means "deep sorrow," which is highly suitable to the poet's mood.

The place names also give different effects on the expansion of the content in each stanza. A place named Phōthārām gave the poet the idea of a Jātaka literary character called "Mae phō thōng" who evidently took phrakhōt to make love to nang Phinthū. And one

story leads to another. The next seven stanzas were devoted to telling stories from the Jātaka mentioning names of principal characters from them.

Like many Nirāt poems, night time is a normal cause of melancholy, and expression of sadness was expressed in a longer context. At Thā Phra, for example, the poet gave the description of the sea, the setting sun, the trees and birds returning to their nests. When night fell the reveries of his love making returned.

As he approached his destination, the poet expressed more agony than he had suffered during the journey. By the time he arrived at Sai Yōk, he gave the description of his feet which hurt him mingling with his melancholy in ten stanzas. The journey was finally concluded at Mae nām Noi. Here there is a straight description of the river, followed by a more elaborate description of the army and the king. Two Rai styles of composition were used, one to give descriptions of the king and the other to give descriptions of the royal army.

3. The Conclusion

This section opens with another Rai where the poet gave descriptions of the King. This short descriptive Rai elaborated on the same subject; the following Khlōng stanzas were expanded to describe the army in detail; the soldiers, war horses and elephants, etc.

Then the poet gave an extra section devoted to flora and fauna. This, I think, shows the poet's attitude towards the necessity of preserving convention. Fifteen stanzas were used for this part alone. The poet then concluded his poem by comparing his own sadness of separation with that of the poets of Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt and Sīprāt. Again, showing his conventional way of heightening his feeling of sorrow, as with Sīprāt, a stanza was used to state that the poem was meant to be composed for his beloved as the poet addressed this stanza directly to her. Finally, the specific type of verse style was stated and the purpose of composition with the name of the author were given.

Nirāt Phrayā Trang

This poem is also known as Nirāt Thalāng. It was composed in 1809 during the reign of King Rāmā II when the poet accompanied the King on a military campaign against the Burmese at Thalāng. In this poem, Phrayā Trang changed the style of his composition from the Khlōng Sī Dan to the Khlōng Sī Suphāp style. This, it has been said, was done in order to compete with Khlōng Nirāt Narin which was composed in the same year during the same journey. A more reasonable explanation, however, would be that Khlōng Sī Suphāp had become more popular and it is easier to compose. Indeed, modern readers of Thai literature often agree that one of the factors which makes Khlōng Nirāt Narin of the Ratanakōsin period much easier to appreciate than Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt is that it is composed in the Khlōng Sī Suphāp instead of the Khlōng Sī Dan style.

The poem can be divided into three sections; the introduction, the journey, and the conclusion. Each section is well planned, well thought out and very carefully executed. The theme of love-longing is strong and consistent throughout the poem which clearly shows that the poet was no doubt under the influence of

Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt. Many similarities can be found between them. Its similarities to the Khlong Thawāthotsamāt are also evident. Thus he compared his own sadness of separation to the sadness revealed by both poems. He wrote as his stanza 119.

"When Sīprāt was separated from Thao Chulālak,^v
He lamented all the way along the river and
ocean.

Even the sadness revealed by the three sage-
poets in Thawāthotsamāt,

Do not¹ equal the sadness of my separation from
you."

The poet devoted a Rai to praise the glory of the city of Bangkok elaborated by the following Khlong stanza. Then followed a stanza which was meant to glorify the Buddhist religion. Here the poet mentioned the Emerald Buddha and the beautiful Vihāras in the city. He then moved to praise the honour of the King.

The theme of the poem then begins in stanza 4 where he wrote:

"I am writing this message for you,
When I am separated from my dear beloved,
My heart grieves for my dearest love,

1. Ibid., p.37, stanza 119

Oh, I feel so sad, my feverish heart."¹

The poet then praised the beauty of certain parts of his beloved's body in the form of love-making, at times very explicitly. Seven stanzas were devoted for this. For example in stanza 10, he wrote:

"The taste of your love is so satisfactory,
I have bathed in the heavenly pool, dripping,
Separated from you, I'll never taste anything
like it,
For you, I₂ can only use my eyes, you can
read it."²

The Introductory section ends when the poet boards his ship. The final stanza of this section expresses his melancholy of separation before arriving at the first mentioned place which marks the beginning of the journey section.

2. The Journey

The poet mentioned a monastery in Bangkok, Wat Sām Plūm, as the first place name, making use of transfer and pun as the means of expressing his melancholic

1. Ibid., p. 14 stanza 4

2. Ibid., p. 15, stanza 10

love-longing. This convention was consistently employed throughout. In most cases, one stanza was devoted to one place name but at certain places, however, one or two additional stanzas were added to express the poet's melancholy.

There are seven places in which more than three stanzas were used. The first place, stanzas 23 to 28, is merely the expression of melancholy of separation. At two other places more stanzas were used to express the poet's feeling at night time.

"It is so sad to be separated from you,
beloved,

I feel my desire for love constantly.

Tears fill my eyes dropping, my beloved,

My heart boils hotter than a thousand suns.

It is late at night with quiet shining moon.

Spreading its glittering rays.

Fire-flies perch on the tree branches, swaying,

Flashing like jewels on your little finger."¹

1. Ibid., p. 21, stanzas 39, 40.

As his ship approached the ocean, the poet gave descriptions of human activities on board ship transferring these activities into his expression of love-longing.

Travelling farther into the ocean, the poet used many stanzas to reveal the memory of his beloved, the cold wind of the sea, the fish, all of which heightened his desire for love. He compared the effect of the cold wind and the wind of his beloved's words:

"My heart is sadly cold when pierced by the
cold wind,

It forces the ship to move along the water.

The wind of your words, complimenting me,

Hits me with pleasurable thrills, even colder."¹

Then to reinforce his feeling, he added:

"I think of your warm hand touching my body,

Aroused, I moved close to you, to your flesh.

Here in the sea, the wind strikes me,

The warmth of the shirt is not the same as
your flesh."²

1. Ibid., p. 24, stanza 56.

2. Ibid., p. 25, stanza 60.

The poet's desire was often aroused by the meaning of the place names, and he laments by using these meanings, thus using many stanzas to express his sorrow at each place before moving on. Natural objects were brought in as love stimulants. These love stimulants either consoled him or reminded him of his past relationship with his beloved. He revealed that his intimate love-relationship was the joy he was longing for.

At Nom Sao, the place called "young woman's breast" the poet wrote:

"At Nom Sao I do not see you, my beloved,
It's just an island, I feel so cold, my
feverish heart.

I think of your beautiful white breasts
Where I kissed leaving a taste between them."¹

Then his mind moved on to think of the first day of his happiness with her:

"I think of the first day we made love
together,

We fought vigorously for pleasure,

1. Ibid., p. 26, stanza 66.

Enjoyed it till bed-time passed,
 I stopped to wait for you when I was too
 fast."¹

Laem Sai Yōk, a well known resort area, is the last place name mentioned in the poem. Here the poet devoted a special section to associate love and sadness of love separation with the flora, fauna, and the natural phenomena. This was done in a strictly conventional style. The scene was set for the evening where flowers and birds could be readily admired with the setting sun. Then at night, it was natural to feel the desire for love. It was with this setting that the journey section ends.

3. Conclusion

This section begins at stanza 108 where the theme of strong expression of love-longing returns to the poet's heart. It was night time and the moon, the sound of the gong in the quiet atmosphere aroused his desire. He clung to the shawl which his beloved had left with him as if it was her own flesh and blood. He thought of the time when he embraced her in the

1. Ibid., p. 27, stanza 69.

night and they kissed and made love to one another. His imagination went on and he talked about the pain of his suffering heart but in the end blamed it on the fate of *Bān* (merit) and *Bāp* (dimerit) - a Buddhistic attitude toward any behaviour of life. The the poet heightened his sadness by bringing in the conventional comparison of his sadness with literary characters, *Rāmā-Sīdā*, *Phra Rot-Mērī*, the God *Indra* and *Laksamī*, *Phra Krit* and *Usā*, and *Sīprāt-Chulālak* together with the authors of *Khlong Thawāhotsamāt* and their beloved.

The poem ends with the poet stating the number of stanzas of the poem, the purpose of the journey, the cause of the journey, and the name of the destination.

Khlong Nirāt Narin

The title of this *Nirāt* poem derives from the name of the author which was stated in the last stanza of the poem. It was given as *Narin In*, a royal page in the Front Palace. The name corresponds to an official title of the royal page in the Front Palace of the time known as *Narin Thibēt*. This

assumption has generally been accepted without any dispute. However, it should be noted that a doubt has been raised about the actual status of the author whose ability to compose Khlōng poetry and whose command of the highly sophisticated poetical vocabulary and idioms were said to be beyond the ability of a mere royal page. Unfortunately, the author of this article failed to provide any concrete evidence to back his claim and therefore the point of his argument, as well as being rather trivial is unconvincing.¹ Conversely, it can be argued simply that there is no reason why a royal page who happened to be poetically gifted should not be able to produce a highly poetical work since pages lived fully in the atmosphere of the Court. Moreover, Narin In lived and composed this poem during the reign of King Rāmā II whose reign was marked by intense literary activity. Indeed, many Siamese literary works were written during this reign and the King

1. See Nai Intharamontri, Khrai Taeng Nirāt Narin (Who composed Nirāt Narin), in Nirāt Narin Kham Khlōng Op. Cit. pp. 98-120.

himself was a patron of great literature as well as being a composer himself.¹ The exclusion of the name Narin In among the literary giants within the King's department of writers indicates that Narin In himself was not closely associated with the court literary circle because he was a Royal page in the Front Palace and his gifted talent was not recognized by the court officials. This might be because Narin In's Nirāt poem had not yet been widely read and because Nirāt composition was purely a personal affair. Sunthōn Phū became well known and was invited to join the King's literary circle because of his public venture into the Sakawa improvisation rather than his Nirāt poems. In fact he stopped composing any Nirāt poem during his service in the King's Department of writers. Upon the publication of Khlōng Nirāt Narin, Prince Damrong himself was even surprised that such a gifted poet as Narin In did not compose many

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1. See Piyang Na Nakhōn, Op. Cit. pp. 356-474.
 2. Sunthōn Phū composed one Nirāt during Rāmā I's reign. The rest of his Nirāt poems were composed during the reign of Rāmā III and IV.

more during his life time.¹

This much celebrated Nirāt poem was composed on a military expedition headed by the second King of the reign of Rāmā II to suppress the Burmese who were attacking Thalāng and Chumphōn. It has been regarded as one of the very best Khlōng Nirāt poems ever composed. Having the Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt before him, the author improved on the technique of pun and transfer with superb skill. It is not only that his language is simpler but the poet's choice of words was careful and his words often carry vigorous and resolute meanings. Consequently, Thai scholars have acclaimed its perfection and beauty. Prince Damrong has acknowledged this by saying that Narin In's poem was even better than Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt.² Phrayā Sī Sunthōn Wōhān (Noi Āchārayāngkūn) once said that he could not find any fault nor anything that he could criticize and improve upon. This, no doubt, is due to the fact that the poem was composed

1. See Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Preface to Khlōng Nirāt Narin, Bangkok, 1924, pp. ๗-๘.

2. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Op.Cit. pp. ๗-๘.

much later than Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt and with the skilful composition of a great poet of a more modern time. Narin In had created stanza after stanza of melodiously poetical sound which very much appeals to the ears and taste of modern readers. This was followed by the unconcious memorization of many of the stanzas from this poem by students of Thai literature. The poet's gifted creation is indeed the source of the poem's unfading charm and amazing popularity. Its simultaneous appeal to the head and the heart of the Siamese then and now is no less responsible for the unfailing grip which Nirāt Narin continues to exercise ever since it was set in flight in 1809 by the wings of the imagination of a royal page.

The poem can be divided into three main sections, the introduction, the journey, and the conclusion.

1. Introduction

In the opening Rai, the poet praised the virtue and the power of the ruler under whose reign the country's boundaries were vast and the people were contented, with peace and justice for all. This

invocation was then extended by the three following Khlōng stanzas of a Buddhistic nature. The poet glorified the prospering of his religion, the beauty of the temples and the Chedi.

The fourth stanza marks the end of the invocation. The poet stated clearly that he had praised the King's virtue and he was going to change the subject to express the deep sadness of love separation incurred by him because of his duty and obligation. The poet then stated the purpose of the journey implicitly.

"My heart fluttered for fear of separation,
To rush to war."¹

The next eight stanzas contain the poet's heart-breaking expression. This is the passage showing the melancholy of separation. Many vigorous and witty stanzas of the poet's worry and concern about leaving his beloved behind are included. Indeed, the expressions of worry and concern show the amount of love and bondage he had towards the beloved and serve as a sincere compliment to her when she reads the poem. The poet first accepted the separation as the result of merit and as the course of fate

1. Op. Cit., p. 13, stanza 4.

and predestination which a man has no choice but to follow. It is the unavoidable bāp and bun:

"Leaving you against my will, my heart
was taken away,

Only if it can be split into two.

I shall leave one part of it,

To caress the flesh I so much cherished."¹

The poet then thought of seeking a secure shelter for his beloved. He thought of everything and everywhere and yet he could find no one and no place he can trust. He could not quite make up his mind on this matter:

"Oh, my most beautiful beloved in the whole
world.

If there were branches sticking out from
heaven,

I shall leave you there hiding in clouds.

But there is no such sky-branch for me to
leave you on.

If I should leave you in Heaven or on Earth,

I fear that Gods may try to hurt.

To entrust you in the wind flying up high,

The breeze would hurt your flesh I desire."²

1. Ibid., p. 16, stanza 7.

2. Ibid., p. 16, stanza 8 - 9.

The poet finally decided to entrust her with the bed, the pillow, the mosquito-net and the curtain. He then blessed her with good wishes and reminded himself and her that their loyalty would bring them back to be together again. The purpose of the journey was then restated as he bid farewell to her.

2. The Journey:

The journey started from Wat Chaeng along the Chao Phrayā River. The technique of pun and transfer is continuously employed as the poet arrived at each place. Normally one stanza is used to cover one place except at certain places where the poet gave descriptions of human activities, scenic description, and other natural phenomena which struck his interest and observation. These descriptions, like most place names, are used as the means to express the poet's sad separation. A straight description done without this specific motive is quite rare.

The revelation of certain personal relationships between the poet and his beloved is reflected at times. At Bāng Khun Thian, for instance, the poet thought of his beloved, her past activities, and then the

obligation he had toward the King and the country which was the cause of separation. As the poet was on an expedition to war, an expression of fear of war and death is found. Many times during the journey, the poet gave references to war and revealed that he was on an expedition by using such terms as yok mā, ~~ōk~~ thap, and pai s̄k as opposed to the conventional use of yia mā, ^Vchāk mā in the Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. Many of the stanzas of Khlōng Nirāt Narin begin with these terms. However, the description of the army never dominated the poem.

More stanzas were used to cover the descriptions at a place where the poet stopped to spend the night. An example of this sort is found when the poet arrived at Khlōng Yān s̄. Here he gave the description of the moon and the trees as the stimuli for his melancholic expression. And because of this the poet found himself lying awake all night. At night he saw and heard sounds including birds. Many stanzas were again used when there was an excitement. At the river mouth (pāk nām) where the boat reached the

sea, the poet gave descriptions of the waves and the sea.

Flora and fauna was conventionally described in a special section deliberately injected for the purpose of description alone. This section is found after the arrival at Khao Sam Roi Yot. Eighteen stanzas were used to mention names of trees and of birds, and other animals mostly seen together in pairs often making love. The poet compared their happiness with his loneliness and lack of love. Names of plants and animals were carefully chosen in order to serve the purpose of melancholic love expression. Many names have the same meaning as parts of human body.

The last place name mentioned in the poem is Tranao. The poet concluded the journey section by comparing, philosophically, the hardship of fighting the war with the enemy, to the war of love. He then expressed his love to the beloved and prayed to gods that he return to join her. Seeing no immediate result of the prayer, the poet made a remark showing his disgust at the God's inactivity.

"Where are you, God of a thousand eyes,
 Your four faces with eight ears are listening
 to something else,
 Are you falling asleep on the Naga's back,
 oh, dear God,
 Both of us have been crying but you just look
 away."¹

3. The Conclusion

This section begins with references to wellknown literary characters from Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt and Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt. Then explicit love-making stanzas follow mixed with praise of the beloved's beauty while mentioning each part of her body. Here the theme based on Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt style is clearly evident. The poet was moved to use the three seasons to express his desire for love starting from the hot season with the heat of the sun and the dry sea to compare with the heat of desire. The rainy season and the cold season then followed. Here, like Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt, the poet used the cloud, the coldness, and the wind to express his suffering and torture caused by the lack of love. Finally, the poet made a vow that he would love his beloved to

1. Ibid., p. 66, stanza 121.

eternity - to the end of the Universe.

In the last two stanzas, the poet stated that the poem was meant to be a letter to his beloved. He mentioned his name as the author of this composition.

CHAPTER 4
THE TECHNICAL CONVENTIONS

Essentially, the fundamental feature of a Nirāt poem is the theme of love-longing and separation. The poet's beloved is the motive force and the source of inspiration. It is therefore vital that he finds means to express his feeling and to announce his melancholic desire for love. To this effect, poets have provided a specialized technique of "pun" and "transfer" to associate a place name in their itineraries, with his beloved. This is convenient enough because most place names contain a meaningful form or forms which can be associated with other contextual meanings. When a poet travels through different localities, he picks out their names, mentions them, and he puns and transfers their forms and/or meanings in such a way that the end result becomes a poetic culmination of the poet's expression of melancholy. Whereas flora and fauna are commonly used in this way in major literary poetry as reminders of the heroes' love, sorrow, and happiness during their ventures in the jungle, the Nirāt poets have moved a step further by making use of place names

as their reminders.

The use of puns and transfers often require the knowledge of homonyms and synonyms as well as words which are homophonous. In the Language of Thai poetry, it is true, poets have the advantage of tradition. Old poetic texts often contain an enormous vocabulary which should provide poets with a large choice of synonyms not only between Thai words but also words from foreign languages considered to be prestigious and which should be used in good poetry. In the text *Chindamanī*, it is stated that a poet who composed good poetry must be familiar with Sanskrit, Pali, Khmer, Mōn, Burmese, Singhalese, Siamese, and Lao.¹ The Thai language distinguishes between poetic words and matter-of-fact words rather clearly and it can achieve this with an extraordinary degree of homonymity as well as synonymity. To find different words with similar semantic synonym, involves simply finding another word from another prestigious language or languages, and using that new word as the new transfer form in order to get the desired effect. This desire to

1. *Chindamanī*, Op. Cit., p.49

transfer the meaning and the form of words in Thai verse explains much in Thai classical poetry that would otherwise be mysterious. It explains the love of puns as well as the various possibilities of punning. Puns are common in Thai verse. Poets pun their words or play on them to get poetical and sensual effects in ways in which some Western readers may find difficult to appreciate but to object to them would simply show a lack of taste for Thai. The use of pun and transfer is a very important technique fluently employed by Sīprāt. Occasionally, he used puns and transfers in a playful or even beautifully erotic manner. But the true value of puns and transfers is that they help to demonstrate the gift of the poet as the master of his own poetical language which is peculiarly well adapted to this innovative technique. Thai poetical vocabulary, deriving from languages with long literary traditions, has accumulated numerous meanings, the choice of which is clearly determined by the poet's insight into the language or languages required.

In order to see how this specialized technique

is employed in early Nirāt poems, we shall now consider Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt in which thirty-three puns and transfers are used out of forty place names mentioned in the poem. Each name of a locale consists of a form (F) which carries a meaning or meanings (M). Therefore FM is the element to be punned and transferred to a special message of love to be transmitted to the beloved (O). What concerns us now is how the message is transmitted.

The first type of transmission is to transfer both F and M directly without any change. This process will be called a "Direct Transfer".

Thus, direct transfer = FMFM> O

Illustration:

Locale = Bāng Phlū (phluu)

F = phluu (five phonemes, ph, l, u, u,
and a mid tone)

M = betel leaves.

Upon arriving at Bāng Phlū the poet thus transmitted this message:

via mā phisēt phī Bāngphlū thanat phuan

phlū nāng sawoey phī din.¹

"I am now arriving at this special place,

Called Bāng Phlū, "Village of the betel
leaves"

Oh, beloved, it reminds me of the betel
leaves you have,

And I writhe impatiently to see you."

The second type of transmission will be called
a "Direct Pun". In this process, the F remains the
same but the M changes completely to a new meaning
(Mx).

Thus, direct pun = FM FMx> 0

Illustration:

Locale = Bāng Čhāk

F = čhak (five phonemes, c, k, a, a, and
a low tone)

M = Nipa palm

Mx = separation or to be separated from.

"lanlung phī lae mā bāng Čhāk

Čhian Čhāk tī ok rōng riak nāng hā nāng"²

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1. Prachum Wanakhadi Thai Phāk Nung, Op. Cit., stanza 53, p. 100. The transcription given for F is a phonemic transcription based on the Mary Haas' system. This is necessary because the fourth type of transmission involves certain processes of phonemic change.
 2. Ibid., stanza 62.

"I suffered in anguish and pain,
 Until I reached this village of Nipa Palm.
 Separated we are, beloved, far far apart,
 Sobbing and moaning, I called out in vain."

The third type will be called a "Semantic Transfer".
 The F is allowed to change to any other form (A) but
 the M remains unchanged or just slightly changed to the
 synonym of M.

Thus, semantic transfer = FM AM> O

Illustration:

Locale = Krian Sawai

F = sawāy^V (eight phonemes, s, w, j, a, a,
 a, a mid tone and a rising tone)

M = Mangoes

A = mŭan (five phonemes, m, n, u, a and
 a falling tone)

Upon arriving at Krian Sawai (Village of Mango
 Groves), the poet laments:

"mung hen nām nā wing wian tā^V lae mae
 thanat muang mŭ nāng fān fāk^V chao."¹

"The waters swirl and rush before me.

Oh, darling, how dizzy I have become,

1. Ibid., stanza 33.

I dream of seeing your lovely hands,
Slicing up mangoes to give to me."

The fourth type will be called "Indirect Pun".
This process involves certain changes of one or more
phonemes of the F. When the F is allowed to change
its shape slightly to Fx, the M automatically changes
to a new meaning (Mx).

Thus, indirect pun = FM FxMx> 0

This process is characterized by one of the
following changes.

a) by replacement of a consonant phoneme.

Illustration: rian > riam (n > m)

รียน > รียม¹

Locale = kə Rian

F = rian (five phonemes, two consonants;
r and n, two vowels; i and a, and
a mid tone)

M = to inform

Fx = riam (five phonemes, two consonants;
r and m, two vowels; i: and a,
and a mid tone)

Mx = I (male speaker)

b) by tone replacement

1. Ibid., stanza 18.

Illustration: naaw > n^vaw (mid > rising)

นาว > น^วาว¹

Locale = Bang Tharanao (Tranao)

F = naaw (five phonemes, two consonants;
n and w, two vowels; a, and a, and
a mid tone)

M =

Fx = n^vaw (five phonemes, two consonants;
n and w, two vowels; a, and a, and
a rising tone)

Mx = to be cold.

c) by adding a vowel phoneme.

Illustration: krùt > krùt (u > uu)

กรุด > กรุด²

Locale = Bāng Krut

F = krùt (five phonemes, three consonants;
k, r and t, a vowel phoneme; u,
and a low tone)

M = ?

Fx = krùt (six phonemes, three consonants;
k, r, and t, two vowels, u and u,
and a low tone)

Mx = kaffir lime.

1. Ibid., stanza 20.

2. Ibid., stanza 51.

d) by deleting a vowel phoneme.

Illustration: khēen^V > khēn^V (ee > e) ๒๗๒ > ๒๗๓^๑ 1

Locale = Bāng Khēn

F = khēen^V (five phonemes, two consonants; kh, and n, two vowels; e and e, and a rising tone)

M = a shield attached to a forearm.

Fx = khēn^V (four phonemes, two consonants; kh, and n, one vowel, e, and a rising tone)

Mx = calamity

e) by adding a consonant phoneme.

Illustration : bamru > bamruŋ (- ŋ) ๒๗๔ > ๒๗๕^๒ 2

Locale = Bang Bamru

F = bamrù (Seven phonemes, three consonants; b, m, and r, two vowels; a, and u, a mid tone and a low tone)

M = ?

Fx = bamrun (eight phonemes, four consonants; b, m, r, and ŋ, two vowels; a, and u, and two mid tones)

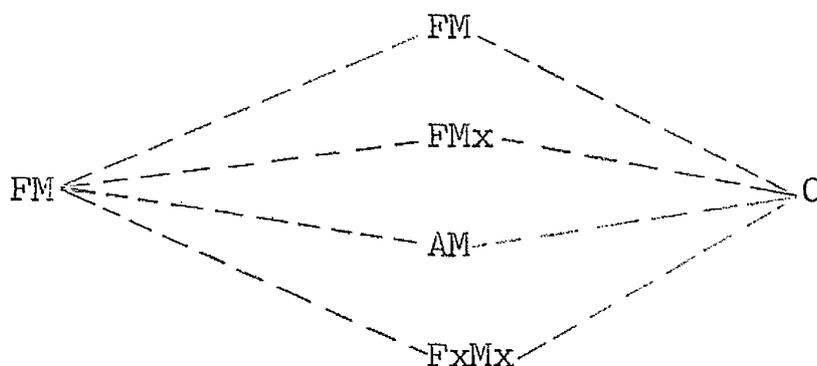
Mx = to care for.

It is through these processes that Sīprāt chooses to transmit his love messages to his beloved. At each

1. Ibid. stanza 47.

2. Ibid., stanza 44. Note that this addition of a final consonant affected the tone and it changed from low to mid.

locale, the poet may employ one or more of these processes, using any combination he finds suitable.



The application of the technique of pun and transfer as presented above can now be demonstrated by investigating the occurrence of each type of pun and transfer, found at each locale in these Khlōng Nirāt poems. We will now look into the application of the technique in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, listing all the names of locales, the meaningful elements of these names which function as FMs, and finally, the actual application of the technique.

Chart one illustrates the occurrences of types of puns and transfers applied at each locale. Each occurrence is marked by the letter X under the appropriate type. Within any locale where no application of the technique is used an X is marked

Stanza No.	Locale	Verbal Transfer				
		Direct Transfer	Semantic Transfer	Direct Pun	Indirect Pun	Non-verbal
17	Bāng Ka ^Y cha					X
18	Kọ Rian				X	
19	Kọ Khōm					X
19	Lukhanōn	X				
20	Bāng Thōranao	X			X	
21	Bang Khadan	XX				
21	Kọ Tamyae	X	X			
22	Yān Kwāng	X1X1 X2				
23	Rātcha Khrām	X				
24	Sōk Khwae	X1 X2				
25	Kaeo Phụng					X
26	Phayā Mượng	X				
27	Lathē	X				
29	Choeng Rāk			X		
31	Kaeo Kū					X
32	Krian Sawai	X	XX			
33	Bāng Phūt	XX		X		
36	Samrōng	X		X		
38	Ratana Phūm	X				
43	Bamru	XX		X		
47	Bāng Khēn			X		
51	Bāng Krut			X		
53	Bāng Phlū	X				
54	Chamang Rai	XX				
55	Bāng Ramāt	X	X			
60	Bāng Chanang	X				
62	Bāng Chāk			X		
64	Bāng Nāng Nōng		XX			
65	Bān Khōm	XX				
76	Bāng Phụng	X				
81	Pāk Phrawān	X1 X2				
85	Thung Kradāt					X
86	Khao Sōmmuk			XXa		
87	Kọ Sachang					X
87	Kọ Phai					X
88	Bāng Khōm	X				
91	Kan Chaowā				X	
98	Bāng Nai Yī	X				
101	Sawāt Thakōn	X				
125	Bāng Sabū	X				
127	Khanop	X				

under the "non-verbal transfer" section. From this chart, it can be seen that only eight names of the locales fall under the non-verbal transfer section. The rest, thirty-three out of the total forty-one names, involve at least one simple application of the technique - i.e. more than eighty per cent. The chart also shows that the favourite type used by Sīprāt is the Direct Transfer followed by the Direct Pun, Semantic Transfer, and Indirect Pun respectively. The frequency of these occurrences can be recorded as follows:

Table 1

Type of Transfer	Number of Occurrences
Direct Transfer	35
Direct Pun	9
Semantic Transfer	6
Indirect Pun	2

The application of the technique is further complicated by the occurrences of more than one type of pun and transfer at certain locales. Sometimes the same type is applied more than once. We can group these occurrences by dividing them into the following grouped types:

a) Single application. This means that only one application of the FM is applied at a particular locale. At Lukhanōn, for instance, only one direct transfer is used.

Ḷchāk mā lam han lōng	lukhanōn
khanōn bō thū loei la	phī khlaeo
Ḷchāk mā kamḶchōn Ḷchan	Ḷcharung klin
Ḷcharung klin kaem nōng kaeo pai wai ¹	

"I have left you coming to this place named
Khanōn

Which is the customs station.

They let me pass freely without checking.

Here I can smell the scented sandal wood,

Like your cheeks, beloved, it clings to me
ceaselessly."

1. Khanōn = FM "customs station". Ibid., stanza 19, p. 62.

b) Double application. This means that the same type of verbal transfer is applied twice at a particular locale. An example can be given when the poet arrives at Bāng Khadān.

Chak mā mā klae klai bāng khadān
 khadān rāp khū khadān dū dōk mai ¹

"As I travel near to the village of Bāng
 Khadān,

The name reminds me of the flat smooth board,
 And the flat smooth surface of your belly,
 And your navel so beautiful, like a flower."

Here, Khadān "the flat board" serves as the FM which has undergone two direct transfers before making its complete association with the beloved object O. At Bāng Nāng nōng, we see the application of semantic transfer which is similarly applied twice. At Sām Muk, two applications of direct pun are used.²

c) Complex Application. This means that more than one type of verbal transfer is applied at a particular locale. The combination may consist of

1. Ibid., stanza 21, p.64.

2. Ibid., stanza 64, p.113, and stanza 86, p.135.

two different single applications of different types or it may consist of a single application of a type plus a double application of another type. Examples of the complex application can be given as follows.

- (i) The combination of a direct transfer and a semantic transfer:

mā k̄ tamyae lān lung sawāt kū oei
 thanat tamyae yao sai phī khai¹

"At Tamyae Island I feel as if my heart
 is splitting with pain.

Because of my love and anguish for you,
 Like devil-nettle rubbing on me
 Giving me an unbearable itching pain."

- (ii) The combination of a direct transfer and a direct pun:

sī mā samrōng ngām ai kae phī mae
 thanat samrōng chao thā ḡk rōng²

"When I reach Samrōng I see many beautiful
 trees.

Trees must feel bashful to see me,
 So like the past time when we,

1. Ibid., stanza 21, p. 64.

2. Ibid., stanza 36, p.81.

Shared our love and our lives together."

- (iii) The combination of a direct transfer and an indirect pun:

Chāk bāng thōranao nao	nom mae
nao n̄ai m̄ kaeo k̄	mun m̄ ¹

"At Bāng Thōranao I thought of the time when I caressed your breast.

It was so cold then, but your hands gave me much comfort and warmth."

- (iv) The combination of a direct transfer and a double semantic transfer. Note that when this type of complex application is used, two stanzas are used instead of one in order that the poet can fully associate the FM, which has to undergo three processes of verbal transfer, with his beloved.

ya mā r̄a l̄ong klai	krian sawai
sai sawāt thōranī nāng	ming mai
Phlet phuang dut duang thawai thuk king	sai hae
maen muang rot fā lai	lūk wān
mung hen nām nā wing	wian tā lae mae

1. Ibid., stanza 20, p. 63.

thanat muang m̄ nāng fān fāk Chao ¹

"As our boat gets near to Krian Swai,
 I see many mango trees on the bank protected
 by the Goddess of the trees.
 They bear flowers on every branch like the
 flowers you used to give to me.
 The fruit is like the mangoes of bliss so
 sweet to taste.
 The waters swirl and rush before me.
 Oh, darling, how dizzy I have become,
 I dream of seeing your lovely hands,
 Slicing up mangoes to give to me."²

- (v) The combination of a double direct transfer and a direct pun. Here again, it must be noted that this process must involve two stanzas to complete the association and to reach the ultimate goal which is the beloved.

thē suang thurē mā bāng phūt phī mae
 māk phūt rū lop lao phūt prāng

-
1. Ibid., stanzas 32, 33, pp. 77-78.
 2. Ibid., stanzas 61 - 63.

ton mai chalūt lin bḡ mī mae hā
thām khao nuan nāng rḡ phūt dai

"With great sorrow and pain I arrive at
Bāng Phūt.

O, Māk Phūt trees who may know my
melancholy,

Why not speak and tell me about my love.

These trees grow so tall,

But they have no tongue at all.

How then can they answer me,

With news of my love."¹

d) It can happen that where the name of a locale contains two syllables, each is meaningful and is independent of the other, each syllable can form two FMs which are completely independent and each can undergo a transfer on its own. Examples of this type can be found at two locales in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, at Sḡk Khwae (stanza 24) and Pāk Phra Wān (stanza 81). In this case it is necessary that X1 and X2 are used to mark the occurrence of each FM.

1. Ibid., stanzas 33-34.

The frequency of occurrence of grouped types can now be summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Group types	Number of occurrence
Type a	19
Type b	6
Type c	7
c (i)	2
c (ii)	1
c (iii)	1
c (iv)	1
c (v)	2
Type d	2

The expression of love melancholy in conventional form such as found in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt is often exceedingly passionate. The effect of separation on the man brings fever (stanza 17). The poet's worry and concern about his beloved is so great that if anything ever happened to her, his heart would be burned by the heat of jealousy and he desperately seeks to find her a safe protector whom he can trust (stanzas 14, 15). Names of locales, the main reminder

of love, make him cry until his tears become blood (stanza 22). Some locales remind him of the beauty of his beloved, some can make him feel cold, and some even make him recall his happiness while he was in union with his beloved.

Equally fatal, and used as frequently as place names, is the mention of love stimulants such as sky, moon, rain, as well as flora and fauna. Indeed, the love stimulant has been used as a conventional device even before the known existence of any Nirāt poems. The epic romance Lilit Phra Lō may be cited as a good example of elaborate use of such love stimulants.¹ In Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt too it is found that this device is employed quite frequently and is used to support the FM so that the expression of love melancholy can be more passionately relayed to the poet's beloved.

Chart II illustrates the occurrence of these love stimulants in relation to the technique of verbal transfer. It can be seen that Sīprāt, though he

1. See examples in Phra Wōrawēt Phisit, Khūm Lilit Phra Lō, Chulalongkorana University, 1961, stanzas 161 - 165, pp. 202 - 204.

Key to Charts II, III, IV, and V:

1. Type of Transfer:

- a = Direct transfer
- b = Semantic transfer
- c = Direct pun
- d = Indirect pun
- e = Non-verbal transfer

2. Love Stimulant:

2.1. Natural Phenomenon:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| a = sky | g = wind |
| b = moon | h = day |
| c = star | i = night |
| d = sun | j = sea/waves |
| e = cloud | k = river/water |
| f = rain/water | l = cold |
| m = morning | |
| n = evening | |

2.2. Flora:

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| a = trees | c = fruit |
| b = leaves | d = flowers |

2.3. Fauna:

- | | |
|-----------|-------------|
| a = birds | c = insects |
| b = fish | d = beast |

has successfully used the unique technique appropriate to the Nirāt poems, has kept the conventional expression of love longing, commonly used in other poetical genres and blended it harmoniously in his Nirāt poem. It must be emphasized that the goal of the verbal transfer of the FM, in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, is to relate the poet's sad feeling to his beloved object. This point is clearly demonstrated in section 3 of Chart II where every mention of a locale succeeds in arriving at the beloved object O. At most locales, the FM is strengthened by the support of love stimulants. And where many elements of love stimulants are found, such as Ratana Phūm (stanza 38), Pāk Phra Wān (stanza 81), and Sawāt Thakōn (stanza 101), many stanzas are needed. An example from Ratana Phūm should suffice to illustrate the way in which the love stimulants help to strengthen the use of the name of the locale for the verbal transfer of the FM technique. At this locale, five stanzas are used. The last syllable of the name, Phūm, is used as the FM which immediately undergoes a single direct transfer. This device is not enough to carry any weight for love expression. The sky

is then brought in as a love stimulant. The poet looks at the sky, his eyes full of tears. The vastness of the sky has given him the feeling of loneliness and therefore he feels the distance from his beloved. He then ponders about his love suffering and the difficulty he has to bear during the journey so unbearable that he feels as if his heart is being burned by fire. It is Tuesday, the memorable Tuesday. Trees are changing leaves and flowers are blooming. This must be spring for everything is becoming green and vast. Deer and other wild animals come running, chasing one another. Some are fighting but many are playing, teasing each other, so pleasing for the poet's eyes. These sights remind him of his beloved and he longs for her so much that he feels as if he could hold his breath and die. He is completely shaken and his tears fall, blood coming out like rain. His heart calls out to her like the roar of thunder. He then expresses love-longing, praising the beauty of his beloved, whose beauty is renown in all the three worlds. His love for her is immeasurable and it would take longer than the whole

year to put it into words. Then he hears the singing of birds. They call for their beloved. He too calls for his, speaking to the moon asking it to look after her while he is away.

We can now look into Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang, Khlōng Nirāt Tām sadet Thap Lam Nām Nḡi, and Khlōng Nirāt Narin so that we can see the continuation of the technique of verbal transfer, the maintenance of love stimulants, and the preservation of the ultimate goal of the function of the FM.

Charts III, IV and V, provide the full mapping of these three Nirāt poems. From these charts we can immediately see that the direct transfer is carried forward as the favourite transfer type in all three Nirāt poems. The majority of the names of the locales are used as FMs. In Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang, only five non-verbal transfers occur as opposed to the thirty-five verbal transfers. Not very different ratios are found in the other two Khlōng Nirāt poems; 10 to 32 in Khlōng Nirāt Tām sadet Thap Lam Nām Nḡi, and

the ratio of 5 to 37 in Khlōng Nirāt Narin. The goals are unchanged in all three poems, thus the association of the FM and the beloved is confirmed - i.e. the FM undergoes the process of transfer to arrive at the beloved object O. However, a certain expansion of the goal has been made in Khlōng Nirāt Tām sadet Thap Lam Nām N̄oi. In Chart IV, the description of human activities, and of the journey as well as etymology has been given as the resultant goal of a verbal transfer, in addition to the ultimate beloved object. It is therefore included in the goal section. This can be seen for examples in stanzas 34, 36, 62, etc.

The only noticeable difference within the "Love stimulants" section is seen in Khlōng Nirāt Narin. This may be significant as we find the complete absence of any mention of love stimulant until we read far into the poem, and to stanza 40 and yet when we get to this stage 19 names of the locales have already been mentioned. It can also be observed that one stanza is devoted to each locale and the technique of verbal transfer, mainly direct transfers, appears to be most dominant. The poet must have been obsessed with the exclusiveness of the application of the

verbal transfer in his Nirāt poem especially when he was well aware that his composition fell within the genre of poetry which was to be the same as Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt. However, later on, as the poet moved further into his composition, other conventional elements common to the expression of love-in-separation, were brought in. The inclusion of certain elements such as the expression of worry and concern, the use of literary characters to heighten the poet's melancholy, found in all three Nirāt poems, are a good indication of this.

The expansion of the technique can be clearly seen in Table 4 below. This table compares the grouped types of verbal transfers found in the four Khlōng Nirāt poems under study. While Table 3 shows the relative occurrences of the number of types of transfers, Table 4 illustrates further the application of the types provided by Sīprāt. Poets such as Phrayā Trang and Narin In, though remaining conventional, have managed to expand and elaborate the technique to a limited degree. This is not only that the double application of a verbal transfer is carried forward in all three

poems, but the application has been expanded into triple application (as in stanza 40 in Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang, stanza 64 in Khlōng Nirāt Tām sadet Thap Lam Nām Nḡi), and further into quadruple (see, for instance, Khlōng Nirāt Narin stanza 78, Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang stanza 32, and Khlōng Nirāt Tām sadet Thap Lam Nām Nḡi stanza 29). With this expansion, it becomes possible to have more combinations of grouped types which produce more complex grouped types in the process. As the result, the following combinations are found:

- a) A triple direct transfer plus a single indirect pun occurs in Khlōng Nirāt Narin stanza 92 - 94.
- b) A triple direct transfer and a semantic transfer combination occurs in Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang, stanza 43.
- c) A quadruple direct transfer and an indirect pun combination occurs in Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang, stanza 31.

Table 3: Types of Transfers

Comparison of frequency of occurrences

Poems	Non-verbal Transfer	Direct Transfer	Semantic Transfer	Direct Pun	Indirect Pun	Number of Locals
Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt	8	35	6	6	5	41
Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang	5	60	13	-	1	39
Khlōng Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lam Nām Nōi	11	27	15	-	4	41
Khlōng Nirāt Narin	3	69	13	1	5	42

Table 4: Grouped Types of Transfers

Comparison of frequency of occurrences

Poems	Single	Double	Triple	Quadruple	Complex
Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt	17	6	-	-	10
Khlōng Nirāt Phrayā Trang	13	5	5	2	9
Khlōng Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lam Nām Nōi	22	2	1	2	3
Khlōng Nirāt Narin	15	5	9	1	9

Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt has thus served as the model for Khlong Nirāt composition. It emerges as the representative of a new genre in Thai poetry in which the poet clearly seeks to express his personal experience of love separation and longing during an actual journey. The technique of verbal transfer has been attempted with greatest effect to associate the name of locales with his beloved whilst expressing the love-in-separation sentiment and longing in that process. The use of natural phenomena and objects which used to be the prime source of melancholy in other poems such as Lilit Phra Lō, and as in Khlong Thawāthotsamāt, has now become secondary. Nature serves merely as love stimulants and is basically framed as the background of human behaviour and emotion.

It has been shown in this chapter that the technique and convention as laid down by Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt has been faithfully carried forward by two most prominent poets of the early Ratanakōsin period; Phrayā Trang and Narin In. As can be seen in Table 4, the technical conventions had been exploited far beyond the bound of Khlong Kamsuan Sīprāt where the application of the

technique of pun and transfer was only limited to single and double applications. Together with their master Sīprāt, they directed as well as regulated the convention in which many other Khlōng Nirāt poems were later composed.

CHAPTER 5

KLŌN NIRĀT POEMS AND SUNTHŌN PHŪ

The existence of abundant Thai poetic literature, both in the form of classical poetry and in the unwritten rural rhymes affirms the fact that the Thais are a poetically-minded people. There has been a natural aptitude for poetry among the people which is common not only in the intellectual classes but also among the peasants themselves. When Simon De La Loubère visited Siam from 1678 to 1688, he observed that the Siamese were naturally poets and their poetry was rhymed.¹ Numerous rhymesters have been found among Thai rural populations and in crowds which gather around them with obvious enjoyment as they sing their extemporised songs.²

Within the intellectual court circle during King Nārai's reign, people impressed one another by composing poetry as well as conversing in poetry. Indeed, this

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1. Simon De La Loubère, "The Kingdom of Siam, a New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam", Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints, Oxford University Press, 1969, p.60.
 2. For the fuller treatment of this subject, see Prince Bidyalankarana, "The Pastime of Rhyme-making and Singing in Rural Siam", JSS, Vol.20, Part 2, 1926, pp. 101-128.

was how Sīprāt made an impression upon his father and later upon his King.¹ The verse form used as poetical exchange among the intellectuals at that time was apparently of the Khlōng Sī type.²

Although Thai classical poetry affords poets five types of verse forms, Rai, Khlōng, Chan, Kāp, and Klōn, only Khlōng and Klōn have been used to compose Nirāt poems.³ Both are believed to be genuine Thai creations. Khlōng verse form, perhaps originating in the North (Lānnā Thai), was only suitable for the composition of high class literature (i.e. classical poetry worthy of intellectual interest).⁴ Apart from Nirāt poems, Khlōng verse

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1. See Phrayā Thamasak Montrī (Phae Talalak), Tamnān Sīprāt, Op. Cit.
 2. See Khlōng Kawī Bōrān, Op. Cit. and also Tamnān Sīprāt, Ibid. According to traditional evidence, it was, indeed, Sīprāt's own ability and sharp wit in composing Khlōng poetry impromptu in reply to the court ladies that the King sent him into exile which led to the composition of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt and his death.
 3. For a complete treatment of Thai versification, see Phrayā Upakit Sinlapasān Chanthalak, Op.Cit. pp. 184.
 4. Those who wish to maintain intellectual recognition often continued to compose their Nirāt poems in the Khlōng clinging faithfully to the Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt tradition. Later, Nirāt poets during the Ratanakōsin period can be divided into two streams i.e. those who preferred the traditional Khlōng and those who follow Sunthōn Phū's approach to Klōn Nirāt composition.

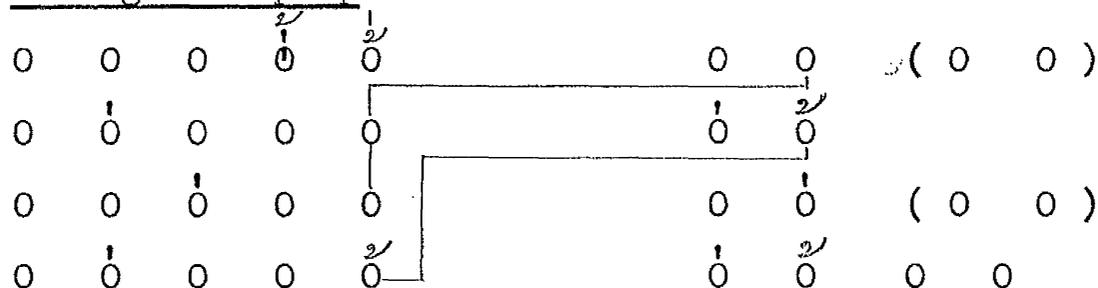
form has been used to compose literary subjects such as eulogistic and historical poems (Lilit Yuan Phai), epic romance (Lilit Phra Lō), poems on proverbs, medical formulas, etc. In the Lānnā Thai tradition, it has been observed that Khlōng verse form has been used to compose poetry on virtually the same type of subjects.¹ Indeed, our older Nirāt poem, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, was originally composed in the Northern Khlōng verse form. Lilit Phra Lō probably has its origin in the Lānnā Thai as it has been suggested that it was introduced into the court of King Nārai by a prominent poet from the Northern Kingdom.²

Khlōng verse form has also been regarded as being much more difficult to compose than Klōn. This is due to the fact that the prosodic rules regulating the structure of Khlōng verse form are rather complex and very rigid. The basic lay-out of the two types of Khlōng Sī; Khlōng Sī Dan (as used in Khlōng Kamsuan

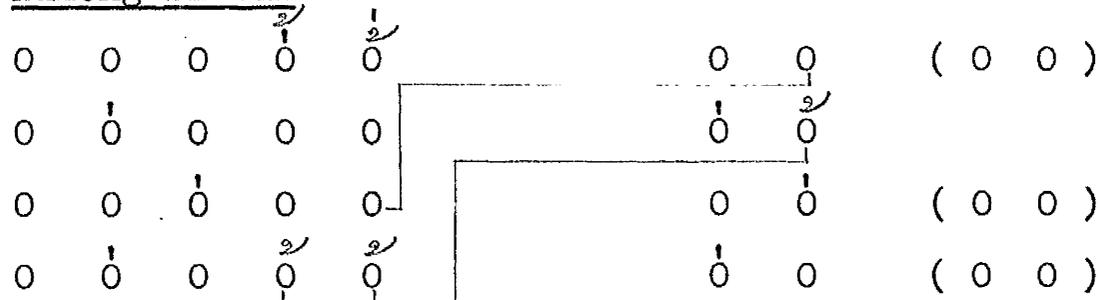
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1. The variety of Northern Khlōng verse form has been observed as well. See Manī Phayomyong, Prawat Wanakhadi Lānnā Thai, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, 1970, pp. 196 - 219.
 2. See Chanthit Krasaesin, Prachum Wanakhadi Thai Phāk Thi Nung, Op. Cit. See also Piyang Na Nakhon, Prawat Wanakhadi Thai Samrap Naksuksa, Bangkok, 1955, p. 171.

Sīprāt) and Khlōng Sī Suphāp (as used in Khlōng Nirāt Narin) is illustrated below.

Khlōng Sī Suphāp



Khlōng Sī Dan



The important features which can be observed are these: the number of syllables is restricted to seven and nine syllables per line and a minimum of 30 syllables and a maximum of 34 for a Khlōng Sī Suphāp stanza but a minimum of 28 syllables for a Khlōng Sī Dan stanza. All syllables are placed with prescribed tone marks; 4 syllables with 2 (mai thō), 7 syllables with 1 (mai ēk). The tone marked syllables may be replaced by stopped syllables which do not bear tone marks. However, a mai ēk syllable must be replaced by a stopped

syllable headed by a high or a mid class consonant, and a mai thō syllable must be replaced by a stopped syllable headed by a low class consonant.

Thus, phonemically speaking in modern Thai, the position in which a prescribed mai ēk syllable occurs must be a syllable which has either a low tone or a falling tone whereas the position prescribed for a mai thō syllable must have either a high tone or a falling tone. Rising tone and mid tone syllables may occur elsewhere but never in the prescribed tone marked positions.

The so-called "high class poetry" also demands a great deal of knowledge of poetical vocabulary on the poet's part. This vocabulary often includes a large number of foreign terms mainly of Sanskrit and Khmer origin as well as many other dialect words and old Thai terms.¹ The text Čhindāmanī places great importance on the vocabulary section (aksōn sap) which takes precedence over other sections. At one point fifty-eight

1. A French scholar, Professor George Coedès, for instance wrote that Khlōng Lilit Yuan Phai was extremely difficult to read because the poem was full of Sanskrit words. See Coedès, "The Making of South-east Asia", Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966, p. 151.

semantically similar vocabulary items were given for the term "ruler".¹ This no doubt has made the Khlōng poem difficult not only to compose but also to read with appreciation. The composition of Khlōng Nirāt poems has therefore been confined to within learned and intellectual circles and Khlōng Nirāt poems have subsequently been limited to a small number of scholars and students of Thai literature.

We now turn to the Klōn verse form. Initially, it must be understood that the development of Klōn, had taken place both in the court and among the rural communities. The existence of the Lakhōn within the court of King Nārai as mentioned by De La Loubère suggests that the Klōn verse form had assumed a prominent function in the court circle.² Moreover, the Klōn had also been used for particular types of improvised songs of Sakawā and Dōksōi which were popular among the kings, princes and nobles.³ However,

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1. Chindāmanī, Op. Cit., p.7
 2. De La Loubère, Op. Cit. p.49
 3. Prince Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Athibai Ryang Sakawā, Preface to Prachum Bot Sakawā len thawai Nai Ratchakān Thī Ha, Bangkok, 1918, pp. 2 - 17.

existing works in Klōn which have survived from the Ayuthayā period appear to be in the Klōn Phlēng Yao genre. These poems are, by and large, love-epistles although not all of them are concerned with the subject of love. The subjects of Klōn Phlēng Yao may range from love-longing, eulogy, prophecy, history, personal diary, moral teachings, to a particular literary story.¹ The first known Klōn Phlēng Yao is said to be composed by King Nārai.² Women, it was believed, were barred from learning to read and write because their parents feared that their daughters might engage in writing the Klōn Phlēng Yao thus encouraging an interest in love affairs. Nevertheless, Klōn Phlēng Yao in the form of love epistles had been the most popular of them all.³

For the commoners, rhyme-making has been the oral-aural expression and entertainment enjoyed by almost all ordinary folk. More than twenty kinds of native songs (Phlēng Phūn Muang) have been recorded from

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1. See Prachum Phlēng Yao, National Library, Bangkok, 1964, pp.423.
 2. Phūang Na Nakhōn, Wanakhadi Thai Samrap Nak Suk Sā, Op. Cit., pp. 480 - 483.
 3. See Phraya Anuman Rāchathon, Phūn Khwān Lang, (Revelation of the Past), Vol. 4. Bangkok, 1970, p. 9.

different parts of rural Thailand.¹ These are extemporised songs sung with clever repartees at different times of the year to suit the agricultural calendar and other rituals significant to their beliefs. These Phlēng Phūn Myang are varieties of Klōn similar to those sung and composed in the court.

Furthermore, the tradition of story-telling by the recitation of rhymes previously composed can be found both in the court and in the country.² This is the Sēphā recitation. The verse form used for its composition is in the Klōn type. Prince Damrong suggested, when writing the preface for the publication of the Klōn Sēphā Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, that Sēphā recitation has evolved from story telling in prose to verse. Sēphā recitations have later become limited to telling the story of Khun Chāng Khun Phaen only and are given on occasions when large number of guests

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1. See Montrī Trāmōt, *Kan La Len Khlōng Thai*, (Drama and entertainments in Thailand), Bangkok, 1963, pp. 51 - 65.
 2. Wales reported that a Sēphā was recited at the King's hair-cutting. See H.C.Q. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 34.

are gathered, such as house warming and top-knot cutting ceremonies.¹

It is clear, therefore, that Kl̄ṇ verse has assumed its prominent functions both in the court and in the country since the early days. The rural rhymes of Phl̄ng Ph̄n M̄ang appear to be numerous varieties of Kl̄ṇ verse and because of their oral tradition and transmission together with their improvisation nature, the rhyme structures of these Kl̄ṇ verse often show irregularity. The written Kl̄ṇ such as Kl̄ṇ Bot Lakh̄ṇ and the Kl̄ṇ Sēphā, however, became subsequently standardized. This is inevitable because the irregular structure and rhyming can be observed more clearly than

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1. See Damrong Rachānuphāp Tamnān Sēphā, Preface to Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, Bangkok, 1950, pp. 1 - 39.

An account of a provincial text of an episode from Khun Chāng Khun Phaen in comparison with the palace text by Professor E.H.S. Simmonds suggests that the Kl̄ṇ Sēphā, with the oral tradition and transmission behind it, has been sung from memory not only by the country bards but perhaps by many peasants. During Sunth̄ṇ Phū's time (early Bangkok period), people in the country were heard singing Kl̄ṇ Sēphā and the travellers, like Sunth̄ṇ Phū and his companions, either sang it themselves, or criticizing the singing they had heard along the journey. See E.H.S. Simmonds, Thai Narrative Poetry: Palace and Provincial Texts of an episode from "Khun Chāng Khun Phaen", Asia Major, Vol. 10, Part 2, 1963, pp. 279-298. See also Prince Bīdyalankarana: The Sēphā Recitation and the story of Khun Chāng Khun Phaen. Journal of the Thailand Research Society (JSS), No. 33, Vol.1. 1941, pp. 1 - 22.

the impromptu singing as soon as the verse was written down. It has been observed that Kl̄ṇ Bot Lakh̄ṇ might have been adapted from the ancient songs and in a later stage developed to have the regular rhyming.¹

The date in which the first written Kl̄ṇ appeared is not known for certain. There are three cantos of Kl̄ṇ in Tamrap Thao Sī Chulālak, the work ascribed to the Sukhōthai period. However, the occurrence of some modern vocabulary items in this work has led scholars to believe that it must have been composed or modified at a much later date.² The recitation of Sepha as one of the court entertainments had been recorded in the Palace Law of the 15th century.³ The earliest known Kl̄ṇ Phlēng Yao ever recorded is found on an old plank board in King Nārai Palace in Lopburi.⁴

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1. For full treatment and development of Kl̄ṇ versification see Khomkhai Nilprapassorn, A Study of the Dramatic Poems of the Panji Cycle in Thailand, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, August 1966, Chapter 4, Versification, pp. 170 - 197.
 2. See Nāng Nophamāt: Tamrap Thao Srichulālak, National Library, Bangkok, 1925, p. 24.
 3. Khomkhai Nilpraphassorn, Op. Cit. pp. 170 - 197.
 4. This is in the Chantharaphisan throne hall discovered during the reign of King Rāmā Iv. See Piyang Na Nakh̄ṇ Op. Cit. pp. 479 - 483.

not be rising. The rhyme illustrated is structural rhyme. There may be additional rhyme and alliteration as well as assonance within each half-line. This arrangement is not fixed by rule and it is left to the artistic invention of the poets. The beauty of the Kl̄n depends largely on the poet's gift to provide melodious internal rhyme with appropriate alliteration and assonance.

The first Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao which is recognized as a Nirāt poem is composed by Nai Phims̄n (known as M̄m Phims̄n) who was active during the reign of King Boromak̄t. This poem has been recognized as the first Nirāt poem ever composed in the Kl̄n verse form.¹ A brief account of the poem is given below.

Nirāt Phetburi is the name given later to the poem composed in the Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao style found among many other Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao poems composed by the same author. The important difference between this poem and other Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao poems is that the author

1. See Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Athibāi Nirāt Sunth̄n Phū, (Explanations on Sunth̄n Phū's Nirāt poems) in Nirāt Sunth̄n Phū Lem N̄ng, Khurusaphā, Bangkok, 1961, p. 81.

includes place names as his itinerary of a journey in this poem making it a travel poem rather than a mere love epistle like his other poems, to this extent following the tradition already established in Khlōng. However, the characteristic of the love epistle is clearly superimposed on the whole structure of the poem; the love-letter-in-poetry style is clearly evident. The frequent use of first and second person intimate pronouns and the constant revival of personal intimacy and relationship between the author and his beloved persist throughout the poem.

According to Prince Damrong, this poem is the first known Nirāt poem ever composed in the Klōn verse form. Its author was active during King Boromakōt's reign. Although in the past, all Nirāt poems composed before this one were in the Khlōng style, the fact that the Klōn Phlēng Yao composition was at the height of its popularity among the princes and princesses as well as the court poets, make it not surprising that a poet who wished to express himself freely would take the verse form of his favourite choice for his composition. This is perhaps the reason why Nai Phimsēn came to use

the Klōn Phlēng Yao verse form to express his sadness of separation from his beloved. He was in fact composing a love letter for her.

At the opening of the poem, the poet told his beloved of his agony, then, like writing a prose letter, he asked about her health and her interest.

"As I am suffering on this tormented journey,
 I send you this letter,
 Are you well, beloved ?
 Are you far from any danger, my companion in
 thought ?
 Are you happy and contented ?
 Are you still acting and singing ?
 And reciting poetry as you did before ?
 For me, I have been sad because of our parting.
 My heart grieves as I travel along this river."¹

Then he revealed his personal relationship with his beloved:

"I had sent a messenger to you, beloved,
 Beseeching you to hurry to Bandin.

1. Author's copy of Nai Phimsēn Nirāt Phetburī, original in Chulabngkōn Library, Bangkok.

I am still sad thinking about that,
 As I had wished to see you, your face.
 O, beloved, why did you not come ?
 Did my servant not deliver my message,
 Or have you deceived me with your heart."¹

The poet went on to tell his beloved about his journey which he began at the Pratū Chai (Victory Gate) in Ayuthayā. He mentioned 18 place names in the poem expressing his sadness of separation and relating them to his beloved. At times, the author described the natural phenomena, scenery, human activities, etc., but the main emphasis was placed on the expression of his emotion of love-longing.

At Khlōng Bāng Kōk Yai, he wrote:

"The boats drift into Khlōng Bāng Kōk Yai,
 I stare silently into the flowing water.
 With tears running from my eyes.
 O, beloved, if only you were here, we
 could be joyful."²

At Sākhōn Buri, he told his beloved of his own activities:

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.

"We stop at Sākhōn Burī to spend the night,

At daybreak we have our meal and move on.

People rowing boats making noises along
the river:

Some yell loudly, some sing melodies.

The singing is joyful but my heart is full
of pain.

Everywhere I turn, I think of you.

O, beloved, the happiness I used to gain,

Is here no more."¹

When he arrived at the destination he wrote:

"Phetchaburī: my heart ceases to breathe.

The market is full of vending women,

They are not pretty, even unpleasant to
look at.

But I have to look and see them, for a
while.

Wherever I go, I think of you all the time."²

His emotion heightened when he came to the closing
of his letter:

"Without love, I sigh heavily,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

Torment when I miss you - the champion of
my thought.

Torment when I become impatient for love.

When I sleep, I dream,

When I eat, I grieve,

When I sit, I cry,

When I walk, I tremble,

When I stand, beloved, my heart breathes
slowly and with tiredness."¹

During the Thonburi period, Phrayā Mahānuphāp, also a known author of several Klōn Phlēng Yao, composed a poem giving an account of his journey to Canton in China. This poem will be dealt with later in Chapter 7 below.

When the Burmese attacked Siam in 1785, their first campaign during the Bangkok period, they were defeated. Early in 1786 they came again. This time, the Crown Prince of Burma headed one of the armies with a strength of 150,000 men to camp at Tambon Tha Dindaeng on the Western border.² It was during this military expedition from Bangkok to

1. Ibid.

2. Rāmā I, Klōn Phlēng Yao Rūang Rop Phamā Thī Thā Din Daeng, Prachum Phlēng Yao, Bangkok, 1964, pp. 1 - 15.

attack the Burmese camp that King Rāmā I composed a Nirāt poem in the Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao style. It was the first Nirāt composed by the King himself and also the first Nirāt ever composed on a journey to war.

Although, the King gave some accounts of military activities the conventional Nirāt theme - melancholy of love separation, appeared to be dominant throughout the whole poem. As a poet King, he addressed the Nirāt to all his court ladies not just to any particular woman. He wrote towards the end of the poem:

"I have defeated a hundred thousand enemies,
 But love: how can I defeat love ?
 There was no one I could talk to,
 When I was in adversity.
 All my women, how are all of you."¹

In the introduction, the King expressed his love toward his beloved women, the sadness of his separation and then stated the reason for the separation.

"It is Karma that makes me travel far,
 from you and the city of happiness to suffer,
 Because of our enemy, who is,
 Attacking, invading our border,

1. Ibid., p.15.

I must lead the army,
 To travel far from happiness and lovers."¹

Conventional use of transfers and puns can be found all through the poem. Flora and fauna were mentioned as parts of scenic description and in connection with love or sadness of love separation. At Sai Yok, for instance, the King realized that it was too difficult to continue the journey by boat, so he decided to proceed by land. He wrote of the beautiful scenery:

"Hurriedly, we drove elephants and horses,
 Moving along rows of trees.
 Their varieties are admirable,
 Some have green fruits on them,
 Some have nice branches spreading out,
 Hiding the sun, providing cool shade.
 I can hear the birds singing,
 And the monkeys, the gibbons, the flying
 lemurs,
 Cicadas are so loud, they are singing,
 Together with locusts, and other insects of

1. Ibid., p.7

the woods,

They sing beautifully as if they were your
voices,

So like the music singing, lamenting songs
of melancholy.

Still fresh in my memory,

Oh, I am lonely and sad, terribly."¹

Military activities were described as a part of the incidents of the journey, especially at places in which important military actions took place. At Rāṭchaburī, for example, it was revealed that a battalion of soldiers was assigned to stay to protect the city. At Wang Silā, where they spent the night, the King gave the account of a military rally at night when he met his soldiers. After finishing his daily duties, he then thought of his ladies, their singing and dancing.

"We arrived at Wang Silā in the evening,

The beach is composed of red sand, unbelievable.

I order the army to stop and rest for the
night,

So that the men would be happy and refreshed,

They sat around forming circles.

1. Ibid., p.13

The brave soldiers, policemen, and royal
 pages,
 They dress nicely, bowing their heads in
 my presence,
 Pledging that they would fight the enemy,
 Till their death, everyone.
 We plan our attack till the moon comes out,
 I think of you then, how sad I am,
 I used to see you and love you ceaselessly.
 You used to sing and dance for me."¹

At two places in the poem; Wang Silā and Sai
 Yōk, where the King spent the night, it can be observed
 that the descriptions were longer than for other
 places. This points to the likelihood that the actual
 composition might have taken place on the spot.

Then, when the army arrived at its destination,
 the poet King gave a description of the Burmese camp.
 He wrote:

"Our army rushed in to attack,
 The Laos, the Mons, the Khmers, and the Thais
 move in to attack

1. Ibid., pp. 9 - 10.

The Burmese army at Thā Dindaeng.

They have built rows of camps,

Collecting food,

As if they have built a city for themselves."¹

Before giving the closing melancholy of separation to end the poem, an account of the victory was given. The King then stated his determination to protect and restore his country for the benefit and the happiness of his people, his civil servants, and his court ladies.

"I order the soldiers to attack,

We demolish the Burmese camps in three days,

They break up completely in confusion,

All the big camps and the small ones retreated.

We pursue them to as far as Mae Kasat.

They flee in a hurry,

Many have been killed

Because of the meritorious virtue I had performed.

I now intend to restore and promote,

Our Buddhist religion,

I shall protect the border of our land,

1. Ibid., p.14.

And the welfare of the people and civil
servants,

And my beloved court ladies.

I shall make you content and happy.

We have suppressed our enemy,

So I order the army to return to the city."¹

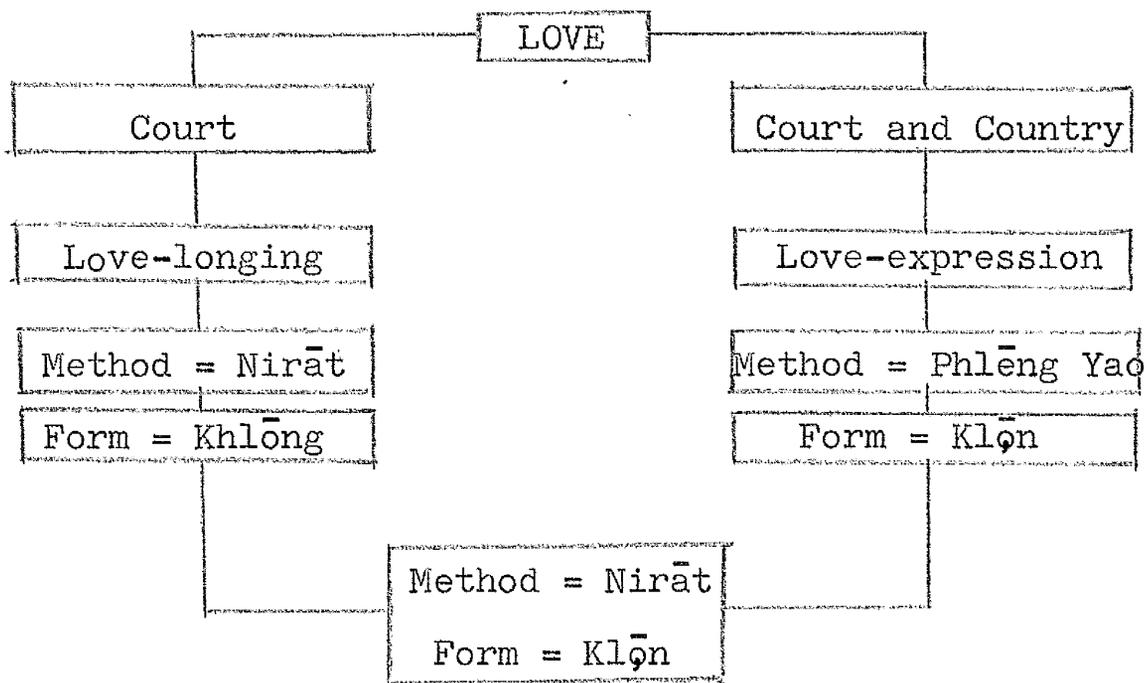
This Nirāt poem together with two other incomplete Nirāt poems in Klōn by Rāmā I's second King were kept under the heading of Klōn Phlēng Yao until later they were recognized as Klōn Nirāt poems and have since been reclassified. These poems had, for a time, given some confusion to later poets who compose Klōn Phlēng Yao as to what an actual Klōn Nirāt poem should be. Some poets had named their Klōn Phlēng Yao as Nirāt although their poems contained neither the theme of love-longing and separation nor the itinerary of the journeys.²

It can be seen then that the idea of the expression of love-longing by the Nirāt method of a journey with

1. Ibid., pp. 14 - 15.

2. The two incomplete Klōn Nirāt poems by Rama I's second king are known as Klōn Phlēng Yao Nirāt Krom Phra Ratchawang Bōwōn Mahā Surasinghanat. For the confusion of the name of the poem see, for instance, Prince Damrong explanation to Phlēng Yao Chot Maihēt Khlēng Khun Suwan, in Prachum Phlēng Yao, Bangkok, 1964, pp. 91 - 92.

precise reference to locales was already established using the Khlōng verse form. If we follow the likelier assumption, the Klōn verse form became dominant in the late Ayuthayā period. It was natural that old method and idea and the new verse form i.e. Klōn would come together sooner or later. But, of course, the transition caused a state of confusion. The model which illustrates the transition from Khlōng to Klōn can be drawn as follows:



The greatest innovator of Klōn Nirāt was Sunthōn Phū (1786 - 1855) who brought Klōn Nirāt to its greatest popularity. Sunthōn Phū is, without doubt,

the foremost master of Kl̄on Nirāt writers and his works have the greatest lasting influence. He composed seven Nirāt poems at different stages of his life.¹ He was born of humble parents but because of his ability to compose poetry he soon became famous and was given a position in the Department of Writers (Krom Ālak) of King Rāmā II. It was during these years that he, on several occasions, improved on some verses composed by the prince (who was to become King Rama III) in front of the King and other poets. This no doubt created enmity between him and the prince as both were trying to gain the King's favour. When the prince became King Rāmā III, Sunthōn Phū lost his position. Realizing the danger and adversity that would arise from the loss of royal favour, the poet retired to a monastery.²

Two of Sunthōn Phū's Nirāt poems were composed

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1. This is to exclude Nirāt Inao which has been grouped under our type B.
 2. Much of Sunthōn Phū's biography has been constructed from his Nirāt poems. Important works on his life and works include: Damrong Rāchanuphāp, Chīwit Lae Ngān Khōng Sunthōn Phū, Bangkok, 1933, pp. 441 and Chan Khamwilāi Rōi Pī Khong Sunthon Phu, Bangkok, 1955, pp. 610.

during the reign of King Rāmā I before he rose to fame. All the other five poems were composed during the reign of King Rāmā III. Sunthōn Phū has brought to Nirāt many elements, such as the concept of personal history as self reflection, philosophical statements on life and people, social criticism, etc. A brief description of Sunthōn Phū Klōn Nirāt poems is given below.

Nirāt Muang Klaeng

Sunthōn Phū composed his first Nirāt poem in 1807 when he was only twenty-one years old. It is an account of the poet's personal journey - a journey initiated and carried out by the poet himself. It was not made under the Royal command or because the poet was sent into exile like Sīprāt, nor was he on a pilgrimage as was the author of Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai. Upon stating the purpose of his journey, Sunthōn Phū wrote:

"I have to be separated from you because I am discontented".¹

and

"Your jealousy has caused some adversity;

1. Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem nyng, Op. Cit. p.86

People have thought of us in a bad way.

So I undertake this opportunity to leave you
to pay a respectful visit to my father."

In his poem, although the characteristic features of a Nirāt exist to some extent, Sunthōn Phū had gone beyond the mere Nirāt type as usually employed by most conventional poets by giving a vivid account of his personal life. Indeed, it is Sunthōn Phū who has made "Personal History" a recognized means of producing great artistic effects in the realm of Thai poetry. This was described in a rather sad but very colourful fashion; in simple and yet elegant language. Even though the poet revealed his discontented mood at times, the description of the journey is often eventful and realistic. Place names were not simply used as means of arriving at the melancholic expression of love-longing or merely tools for punning but rather as a realistic picture of what one might actually see at those places. Philosophical expressions were often thought of and compared with certain aspects of life and objects the poet saw along

1. Ibid., p.111.

the way, old sayings were mentioned, old belief was thought of. The most impressive aspect of the poem is perhaps the poet's ability to describe the country people with deep knowledge and understanding of the peasant life. He expressed many times, however, that he had grown accustomed to the city life of Bangkok and that many things he saw in the countryside became unpleasant. This, however, was often revealed in the form of self-pity. The peasant girls did not look so appealing to him because he thought of his beloved and started to compare their appearances as well as their clothes with hers.

The poem starts off without the invocation. Before the mentioning of the place name, the poet wrote a short introductory section. In this section, the poet first expressed his sadness at love separation. He implied that his beloved was not yet married to him and that for a certain reason he left her without saying goodbye. Then he stated the reason why he composed this Nirāt poem.

"As I must be away from my most beloved,

I thus write this love poem,

So that she would see my heart while I am gone,
 Into the high jungle."¹

The poet then mentioned the names of his travelling companions - two young men, Nōi and Phum who were his students and followers. With them was Nai Sāeng who acted as their guide. The departure time was given at 2.00.a.m. while the moon was shining as they arrived at Wat Chāeng - the first locale mentioned in the poem.

Apart from the introductory section, the poem can be studied in three parts; the journey, the visit, and the conclusion.

The Journey

This section can be divided into two parts; from Bangkok to Bāng Plā Sōi when the poet travelled by boat, and from Bāng Plā Sōi to Muang Klaeng where the poet travelled by land.

At the beginning the poet made use of the first few places visited to express his melancholy of separation from those he loved - not just his beloved woman. His worry and concern were also extended beyond his beloved.

1. Ibid., p.85.

His mother and his two younger siblings were included. And as the poet did not devote a special section to praise the beauty and glory of the city of origin, as did most of the Khlōng Nirāt poets, he expressed the longing for it when he arrived at Sampheng, the China town of Bangkok, where singing was going on.

The place of destination was not mentioned until the poet arrived at a spirit house at Phra Pradaeng. Here he prayed to the spirit asking it to inform his beloved that he was making a journey to Muang Klaeng. At Khlōng Samrōng, the poet made a philosophical reference by comparing the crookedness of the canal to the human heart. He compared the farmer girls of Thap Nāng with the city girls saying that the farmer girls did not look as nice and clean as the city ones. This is done just to show his longing for the city life he had just left.

"Since I left the city, nothing looks pleasant.

The more I think of it the more I long for it."¹

This attitude was expressed many times. At

1. Ibid., p.87.

Paktakhlōng, for instance, the poet complained about the presence of the mosquitoes whilst he could perhaps easily have slipped into the mosquito-net if he were in the city. He then expressed his self-pity saying that he would never again make a journey if it were not requested by his superior. This statement can perhaps be taken as the poet's realization that Nirāt poems were usually composed during journeys made because of poets' obligation to their superiors. At this point he wrote:

"As soon as the sky turns dark,
 Mosquitoes rush out, too many to cope with.
 We could protect ourselves only by making smoke,
 But it is stuffy, I cannot breathe well.
 Oh, this is difficult, leaving the city without
 a mosquito-net.
 We have to pity ourselves and bear with the mosquitoes.
 I shall pray till I die, that I
 Shall never make a journey if my superior does not
 ask me."

Constantly during the journey, the poet gave long descriptions of human activities. At Bāng Phlī, for

1. Ibid., p.89.

example, twenty¹wak were used to give the scenic description of the area.¹ The temple, the field, the mud were described. The people were seen leading their buffaloes and in their boats making lots of noise. This was followed by an incident which happened to the poet's own boat when it was stuck in the mud. The poet gave a realistic but playful description of his companions' activities trying to get the boat out of the mud.

At Bān Rakāt, the poet caught sight of a Takhian log. He suddenly thought of an animistic belief in the Takhian spirit of the log which could cause destruction to anyone. And to prove his point, the poet said there was actually an accident which resulted in the sinking of a boat. At this point the poet playfully sought to entrust his beloved to the Takhian spirit so that any men wishing to harm her could be destroyed as the sinking boat he had just witnessed.

There is a long description of the activities of the journey especially the activities of the poet's companions controlling the boat when they were out to sea. The poet described the emotion and involvement of men at work while

1. See page 128 for the explanation of "wak".

facing danger of the storm and the waves and fighting for their survival. The poet himself prayed to the spirit of the mountain to save them from natural disaster. Then they arrived at Bāng Plā Sṓī where they landed to change their course of journey to the land. The poet and his companions spent three days staying with a friend. Here the poet reflected on his own appearance through the remark of his friend, a natural and friendly concern, that he was pale and thin. This, of course, could be the result of the hardship incurred during the journey coming from the poet's mental anguish and the suffering from love separation. It was probably mentioned in order to seek sympathy from his beloved. When the poet visited the town of Bāng Plā Sṓī, he gave a lively description of the people and the market activities. And when he finally left his friend to continue the journey the poet gave a brief description of the scenery of the mountains near Bāng Plā Sṓī before he mentioned the next place name. This lengthy passage devoted to one particular place name coincided with the actual activities in which the poet had been involved. And

to have a three-day break on a long journey should have given the poet a lot more free time to compose his poem. Eighty waks were used for this place.

From Bāng Plā Sṓi on, the poet and his companions continued their journey on foot, first along the sea shore line to Nōng Mon, Srīrāchā, Bāng Phra, where they spent the night. Here again, a long passage of twenty waks was used for the description. At Bāng Lamung they stopped to bathe and twenty-six waks were employed. Another interesting characteristic of Sunthōn Phū's journey is that he used a lengthy passage of fifty-three wak to describe the chaos of the journey when the guide did not know the way. This is really a move toward realism where the worried minds of the lost travellers were brilliantly depicted. The poet brought in the description of the bleak mountain and the bad weather which only made their mood worse. As the journey went on, flora and fauna were also described but not as a special section as might be found in conventional Nirāt poems. This is really the great thing about Sunthōn Phū who often came out with his secular revelation - a continent of very human experience, which the poet was always eager

to share with his reader. Sunthōn Phū's descriptions of plants and animals as well as flowers were realistic. He selected the names of real ordinary plants which can actually be found in the area. Sometimes he gave straight descriptions of these plants and animals, sometimes related them to his beloved. He finally travelled through the thick jungle before it was dark. He stayed with an old friend in a small village of which he gave a lengthy description. His guide, Nai Saeng deserted him here making him very sad and disappointed. He travelled on without a guide reaching Rayōng where he gave a vivid description of the villagers weaving mats depicting them realistically with great skill together with a description of houses and the people until he arrived at Bān Klaeng. Here the poet gave a long description of the villagers' occupation, their working atmosphere and condition. He spent the night there before leaving for Bān Kram which is his destination.

Upon arriving at Bān Kram the poet stated the exact time and went straight to visit his father. The strong emotional feeling of the poet was expressed together with the revelation of his personal life. We learn here that

his parents had been separated for at least twenty years. His mother lived in Bangkok while his father lived in Bānkram as a monk. A realistic description of old friends coming to greet him was then joyfully given. At his birth place, the poet confessed that it was very difficult for him to readjust to living conditions in the country after having lived in Bangkok for so many years.

The Visit

Considering the date of departure from Bangkok and the date the poet decided to return to Bangkok the visit had lasted about three months. The poet, though unable to readjust to the new way of life in his village made the best of it by going away to visit other villages nearby. He visited Bān Dōn Det and went on to Bān ̄ to find some medicine for his eyes. When he returned to his village he became very lonely and spent most of his free time sitting near the sea-shore allowing his mind to wander back to his beloved in Bangkok. In the ninth month the rain came. There was a food shortage and Sunthōn Phū fell ill. He gave a long but vivid

description of the cause of the illness which the village doctors diagnosed, and how he should be cured. Here many of the Anamistic beliefs were recorded. Even though, the poet obeyed his father and other elderly persons in the village and let them have their way in giving him their treatment, the poet did not believe in spirit treatment. He commented on how silly the whole affair was. His two nieces helped to nurse him but for some reason, they became jealous of one another. It was because of this together with his loneliness that the poet decided to leave Bān Kram to return to Bangkok.

The Conclusion

The poet concluded this poem by stating his decision to leave his village and his nieces mainly because he missed his beloved in Bangkok. He stated the date of his arrival back in Bangkok and also the date of composition which was before his arrival in Bangkok. The poem was composed for her in order to show his love. He went on to describe his beloved's personal character. He ended the poem by saying:

"I have composed Nirāt Muang Klaeng for you,

As a gift to show my love.
 May you not be far removed in mind from me,
 Let us be happy as once we were before."¹

Nirāt Phrabēt

It was generally agreed that Sunthōn Phū composed this Nirāt poem in 1807, the same year that he composed Nirāt M̄ang Klaeng. This time, however, he was a married man. The name of his beloved, Chan, was mentioned quite frequently in the poem. The Nirāt was composed when the poet was in the company of the monk-prince Prathomawong on a pilgrimage to pay homage to the Buddha footprint in Saraburi.

The Nirāt begins very informally by the poet expressing his sadness of separation while his beloved was still not on good emotional terms with him. This, in fact, was all the more reason for the poet to worry, for he learned that he had to make a journey while his wife was still angry with him, and being Sunthōn Phū, he did not shy away and conceal this fact but rather ironically he used it to draw a more passionate temperamental effect in his

1. Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem nung, Op. cit. p.111.

composition. His love was, indeed, a good example of a conjugal love. Thus he wrote:

"Oh, my sad and worrying heart, like an arrow
piercing through, painfully hurt.

I long for my most beautiful Chan with regret,

That you have been so angry with me since the
second month till now.

At the beginning of the third month, the Prince
is to travel from the temple to journey through
the wasteland."¹

The poet then stated the purpose of composition, the purpose of the journey, and the specific time and date of his departure. The journey was by boat from Bangkok to Thā Rūā near Ayuthayā and he proceeded by land from there to the site of the footprint where the poet stayed as many as four nights. This long stay gives Sunthōn Phū the occasion to add a sightseeing section to his Nirat, an innovation contributed by Sunthōn Phū himself. Finally, before the poem was concluded, he gave a lively description of the entertainments with joyful reactions from the audiences watching those performances during the last night celebrations.

1. Ibid., p.113.

The Journey

The poet chose to mention Bāng Čhāk as his first place name. This is perhaps significant in that it confirms that place names were chosen by Nirāt poets when they were worthy of relaying a "Nirāt message" to the beloved or readers. Sunthōn Phū clearly thought of the meaning of Bāng Čhāk, and thought about it before letting his mind wander. He thus wrote:

"At Bāng Čhāk my heart grieves.

Which specialist was it that thought of this name,
placing it before me ?

Saying Čhāk is to forsake love, not to meet each other.

Why must this meaning match the name of this place ?"¹

And at Bāng Sū, the poet wrote:

"At Bāng Sū, the name meaning honesty.

Just like my heart, always honest and loyal to you.

Let you return this gesture of heart feeling to me.

Please keep your heart honest as the name of this
place."²

As also a characteristic of Sunthōn Phū, the poet's

1. Ibid., p.113

2. Ibid., p.114.

worry and concern was not only for his beloved but extended to his relatives, in this case, his beloved's father as he asked Dēva to protect them. In mentioning his great love towards his beloved, the poet planned ahead as he arrived at a place looking for an appropriate occasion to inject his expression of love longing. At Talāt Kāo, for example, the poet first gave some description of trees and fruits he saw. Then he suddenly sighted the Čhan fruit in golden colour spreading a good smell. Then came the bee clinging to that lovely fruit. Having presented such images he then continued:

"The tree and fruit have the same name as yours,
 When I look at the Čhan fruit my heart quivers.
 The bee clinging to the fruit like the way I
 cherish you
 I sat thinking about it with tears streaming."¹

There is more than one place at which the poet gave clear and simple etymological descriptions of the places showing his keen interest in these place names. This can be seen when the poet arrived at Sāmsēn, Bāng Kō-Du, etc. Human description is generally mingled with some

1. Ibid., p.114.

sense of humour and with considerable knowledge of the people he described. At Tālāt Khwan, for example, he gave the description of the women selling things:

"I look at these admirable vendor ladies,
 They speak to one another making loud noises,
 Their clothese are tightly fitted
 I look at their "play things" with self-
 pityingness."¹

At Sāmkhōk, he knew that it was a Mōn settlement and appropriately gave the description of the village, their houses as well as the way they dress by comparing with Thai homes and dresses respectively. When he later arrived at Khlōng Takhian he gave another human description but this time his people were the Indians. Here he gave his impression of their appearances, and the language they spoke. Whenever possible, the description of flora and fauna were given together with other natural aspects without having to provide an extra section for them. The way of dealing with these flora and fauna was also down to earth and realistic. The poet often went into details of actual description of the appearances of the animals instead of just using

1. Ibid., p.115.

their names. Certain movements and behaviour of these animals were even pictured and presented in the poem, an extension of the conventional with realism. At Bāng Sai, for example, he wrote of the birds he saw:

"The birds closed their wings to land and walk,
Fish enjoy swimming in the river.

The Egret steps on the fish with its claw,
Picks it up with the beak then flies up, high,
The krathung (pelican) floats along the breeze,
Oh, birds, how far are you going."¹

In describing the Takrum (stork family) he wrote:

"Its bald head is smoothly shining,

Its pouch below the beak (crop) moves up and down
when it calls loudly."²

An exceptionally long passage was devoted to show the poet's sentimental feeling towards the ruins of Old Ayuthayā when his boat passed Khlōng Srapathum at the site of the old city. He compared the present sight he saw with memory pictures painted to him by the elders who told him the story of the city. He then thought of Chan and hoped that her heart would not

1. Ibid., p.117
2. Ibid., p.117.

be destroyed and ruined in the same way as the city of Ayuthayā. The poet then stopped to spend a night at the next place where he described some activities of his companions preparing the meal. The journey then continued until he arrived at Thā Rūā where the company was to transfer to travel by land. Here a full and lively description of human activities was given in great detail. The poet gave accounts of both activities of others in transferring their necessary belongings from the boats, and the activities of his own. At one point, when he stopped to rest, the poet described the singing of the sakrawā, and he felt sad. When he looked at the moon he felt even sadder because his beloved's name happened to be "the moon" as well. Here, he implied that he was in fact looking for a certain vital element to use in his Nirāt composition, especially when he had the time to himself to think and imagine. He wrote:

"Looking at the moon is like looking at you,

Is it coincidental ?

I am too sad to put this feeling in the poem."¹

1. Ibid., p.122.

During the poet's journey on foot, most descriptions he gave appeared to be on flora and fauna mingling with human descriptions whenever he passed through villages - scenic description also comes in more noticeably when arriving at ponds or sighting mountains. The effect of the heat from the sunshine was at times mentioned.

The highlight of the journey was, perhaps, at the foot-print which is the destination of this journey, for not only was it a place of worship but also it made the poet realize that he was composing a Nirāt of a "pilgrimage" type and therefore the description of the place must be given. The poet devoted a very long section for this purpose giving the description of the area in which the spired building housing the Buddha foot-print was located. After spending a night near the site, the poet then went to pay homage to the foot-print. At this time a detailed description was given of the building itself. This was done in significantly great detail. At the foot-print the poet prayed and made a wish that he would be able to avoid encountering "poverty, jealous women, bad women,

and the criminal." These wishes, in fact, reflect the kind of experiences the poet had had and wished to avoid in the future.

An interesting and unique section was added to this Nirāt poem of Sunthōn Phū. This is the sight-seeing section. Even though the same poet had treated similar material in his Nirāt M̄uang Klaeng during his stay with his father, it was then on a much smaller scale and more description in that poem was devoted to the poet's stay and activities at home rather than sight-seeing. In Nirāt Phrabāt, however, this added section is like a miniature Nirāt within the major work as the sight-seeing trip contains all of the "Nirāt features". The description of each place was given together with human activities, flora and fauna description and so on. The etymology of the place-name was given whenever possible but whenever the poet did not have knowledge about the place he asked others and naturally the elders. Thus it can be said that Nirāt poets, especially Sunthōn Phū, were consciously finding place etymologies when possible and presenting what they found in the poem. For example, Sunthōn Phū wrote:

"Arriving at Khao Khāt¹ I asked about the
origin of the name,

An elder told me so clearly,

That Thotsakan the lord of Langkā

Stole Sīdā coming in his chariot

Running away from Rāmā.

The wheels of the chariot hit the mountain
causing it to break,

Stones were smashed because of the wheels."²

It is interesting to note that the poet followed convention by mentioning characters from popular literary works towards the end of his miniature Nirāt. The following pairs were mentioned:

Inao - Chintarā

Suthon - Manōrā

Rāmā - Sīdā

Phraphētprānī - Thao Trīnēt - Sučitrā

All these are used to compare with the sadness of his separation from Chan. Another conventional feature maintained by Sunthōn Phū was the description of performances

1. Khao = mountain, Khāt = to break

2. Ibid., p.131.

at the foot-print. Like Nirāt Haripunchaī before it, such an important occasion was celebrated with various kinds of performances. The difference here, however, is that Sunthōn Phū gave realistic description of the performers as well as the audiences, whereas in the conventional poems they were merely mentioned.

Then the poet stated the date of his departure from the destination for his return to Bangkok. The actual purpose of his composition was then stated:

"I compose this message to inform you truthfully
 Nothing untrue is injected.
 Those who did not go should learn about it.
 To both listeners and readers,
 I wish to share the merit with everyone."¹

This is the first evidence from the poems themselves that the function of Nirāt poem is more than just a message to the poet's beloved.

Nirāt Phūkhao Thōng

It has been generally agreed that Sunthōn Phū composed this Nirāt in 1830 in the reign of Rāmā III. In this

1. Ibid., p.136.

Nirāt, the poet frequently expressed his dejection and discontent. After the death of Rāmā II, the poet was faced with poverty and a humiliating degrading. During the reign of Rāmā II, Sunthōn Phū had risen to fame and had been given the title Khun Sunthōn Wōhān in the King's department of writers. It was during these years that he, on several occasions, and in front of the King and other poets improved on some verses composed by the prince who was to become Rāmā III. This no doubt had created enmity between him and the prince as both were trying to gain the King's favour. When Rāmā III became King, Sunthon Phu lost his position. Realizing the danger and adversity that would eventually arise from the loss of royal favour, the poet retired to a monastery.

Two main themes recur again and again in this poem. One is the poet's consciousness of his own social degradation and this leads to the second theme; the longing for the return of the happy past. The first theme is expressed in terms of the poet's pessimistically cynical attitude and is often associated with the poet's

nostalgic feeling for the departure of Rāmā II which left him with a way of life he regretted. It was in this state of mind that Sunthōn Phū composed Nirāt Phū Khao Thōng.

In Kamsuan Sīprāt, the complaint. Sīprāt wrote was purely an expression of love-longing. Sunthōn Phū's Nirāt Phū Khao Thōng is, to a certain degree, a complaint diverted from a mere love-longing expression, into the poet's personal life presented in a realistic way. The poem begins with the actual date of departure of the journey when the poet boarded his boat leaving the monastery he had lived in for three years. The reason for the journey was given implicitly that:

"Oh, my monastery of Rāṭchabūrana,
 It'll be a long time before I see you again.
 I am agitated by some mischief-makers.
 To rely on the judgement of the abbot,
 Is like using the "thang" instead of the "sat"
 - I see conflict.
 So I take leave to say goodbye to the monastery."¹

1. Ibid., p.137. "Thang" and "sat" are units of measurement.

In fact the poet did not come back to this particular monastery, for he states at the end of the poem that his boat arrived back at Wat Arnn instead of Wat Rāṭchaburana.

Sunthōh Phū recognized the conventional importance of the Nirāt theme, i.e. the poet addressing his Nirāt message to his beloved but as a monk he could not express a personal love-longing. Sunthōn Phū therefore used the pronoun phī for himself and once referred to the beloved as sīkā, the term a monk uses when speaking of a woman. Though the love expression is never strong, the poet puts it in his poem every now and then. Towards the end, he admits that he composed this Nirāt to celebrate the occasion of having been to pay homage to the Buddha image and the stupa in which the Buddha's relic was believed to be kept. And also:

"As a relief of my unhappiness.

It is not because I have a beloved woman,

Whom I was separated from

But I lament and beseech repeatedly,

For the sake of tradition when one writes in poetry."

1. Ibid., pp. 145 - 146.

The poet's consciousness of his social-degradation is expressed when he arrived at Krung Kao where his old friend was the governor of the province. He wrote:

"At Krung Kao my heart became more saddened.

We passed along by the landing of the Governor's residence,

My tears streamed down when I thought of the old days,

I would stop to see him if he were still m^om wai as before.

He would receive me in his house.

But now I am poor and if he would act strangely,

What would I do if he laughed at me.

When in poverty I should not think high

Or I must turn away in shame."¹

Very frequently, the poet wrote about himself - all suggesting his low spirits and self-pity. He often felt that he was left alone in unacceptable conditions. His place in society was low and lacking in sympathy and without mercy. His sad feeling was constantly revealed by comparing his present state of life with the past. Once in the night when it was very quiet

1. Ibid., pp. 143.

"I thought of the good old days,
 I laughed happily among a company of friends.
 There were many people to serve me, looking
 after me.
 But during this difficult time I can only
 see my son Phat
 Who sits close to me brushing off mosquitoes
 for me."¹

At the front of the palace, he stated about himself:

"I am without relatives, I am very poor and
 life is extremely difficult."²

At Bang Thōranī he lamented that:

"I have no land to live in,
 Only thorns piercing my heart, how disconcerting
 to me,
 Like a lonely bird without a nest."³

All these things happened to the poet because of the death of Rāmā II. Without him everything in his life was ruined. Arriving at the Royal palace he felt that his heart was stopping, and he ceased to breathe because he thought of Rama II, his former patron whom, he recalled, had granted him audiences every morning and evening. Then

1. Ibid., pp. 142.

2. Ibid., pp. 137

3. Ibid., p.140

he wrote:

"When you died I felt as if my head was cut off."

At Sāmkhōk, he wrote even more pitiful lines.

"When I arrived at Sāmkhōk I sadly remembered

Rāmā the second, who cared for his region,

Who appointed Sāmkhōk a third-class city

And named it Lotus city for its lotus blooms.

Oh, Lord, you are gone, never to return,

But the name you gave Sāmkhōk ensures its fame.

But I whom you name Sunthōn

Am not safe from harm as is that fair town.

The end of your reign brought an end to my name

And I must roam about to find a home."¹

With this understanding of the poet's state of mind one can now realise why the poet looked at most of the things he saw along the way to Phūkhaō Thōng with extreme pessimism. Nothing seems to be pleasant. The sky was full of rain clouds. His boat could only move slowly while others breezed smoothly in front of him. The night was full of mosquitoes and the singing of the Sēphā and Phlēng Yao did not sound right to his ears any more.

1. Ibid., pp. 140 - 141. Translation by Vella, See Siam under Rāmā III, New York, 1957, p.57.

In this poem, the poet often used place names to express his philosophical views about human life. The tone of these views is often sad, cynical and critical, even at times critical of himself.

At a brewery, for example, the poet blamed himself for drinking in the past and he now felt ashamed about the matter. However, he found an excuse by comparing the drunkenness of liquor with the drunkenness of love. The former won out as one could be sobered afterwards while the latter stayed forever. But at Pāk Kret, he observed the Mōn people who tried to dress like Thais. He then spoke of this change as an act of uncertainty in human nature. How then can we trust a human heart. At Bāng Phūt he made use of the meaning of the place name to draw his conclusion that speaking was important in human nature. Our lives depend on how well we speak to others. At Bān Dũa he commented on the fig's fruit which looked lovely from the outside but was full of insects inside. This, he said, was like cruel human beings who appeared to be sweet outside (on the surface) but bitter inside. At Ban Ngio, the poet thought of the Buddhist cosmological concept of hell and he wrote the following lines to express his disgust of life.

"When I reached Bān Ngio I only saw tall Ngio trees.

There were no animals living in the branches,

Because the thorns were abundant striking my vision.

I was horrified of them - these thorns.

In hell, thorns of these trees are sixteen inches¹ in length,

With spikes sticking up all over.

Anyone who committed adultery, once dead

Must go to climb these terrifying trees.

I have lived till this day,

And have kept myself clean from this sin.

But now things are abnormally opposite,

Am I then to have to climb these trees as well."

The conventional aspect of this Nirāt was preserved when the poet arrived at the destination. As the purpose of the journey was to pay homage to the relic shrine, the poet used a very long passage in the poem to describe the shrine itself. Even in this process, however, the poet did not change his pessimistic outlook about things he saw and thus he compared the ruins of

1. Ibid., p.141. The unit is onghulī = the length of the phalanx of the middle finger, approximately one inch.

the shrine with human honour which was not immortal and could very quickly disappear and be forgotten. Everything in life is uncertain (anitchang).

At the shrine he prayed that he became successful, healthy and happy. He asked not to see bad women and bad men. The poet spent the night at the shrine before returning to Wat Arun in Thonburi.

Nirāt Wat Chao Fā

Sunthōn Phū composed this poem under the name of his novice son, Nū Phat, who accompanied him to Wat Chao Fā near Ayuthayā. The poet made it obvious that it was he who composed the poem by stating from the very beginning that:

"I, novice Nū Phat, am practicing the composition,
On the account of the journey I made with my
father."

The opening of this Nirāt poem is conspicuous as no other Nirāt poems ever began with the name of the authors. It may be possible to assess Sunthōn Phū's motive in this innovation; he was then a monk, and by concealing the authorship of the poem he could be free to express

1. Ibid., p.231.

his personal feelings as a layman, without any unnecessary reservation. One finds, in many places in the poem, that the poet attempted to describe certain characteristics of women around him with suggestive desire for love. The frequent pessimistic view of human life and his expression of displeasure about his own sisters suggest that the poet found it necessary to avoid using his own name as the author of this Nirāt poem.

Having given the place of departure, the poet stated the time in which he started the journey. He then mentioned the city of Bangkok. However, instead of praising the glory and the beauty of the city and the happiness of the people as in a conventional Nirāt poem, he wrote:

"Oh, the city of Bangkok, crowded with people,
 Millions of them, young and old speaking languages.
 I only want someone to love me,
 But I find no face.
 I sob and force myself to stop thinking."¹

1. Ibid., p.231.

The purpose of the journey was stated towards the end of the poem. The poet stated that he had a chart which indicated the position in which a special kind of magical medicine was buried. The aim of this journey was therefore to recover this medicine. The poem was not composed for any particular person which emphasizes the poet's frequent statements that he had no beloved at the time. He was a widower then. Twice in the poem, the poet, in the name of his novice son, mentioned that he had no mother, implying that Sunthēn Phū's wife, perhaps Chan the name of the beloved he often mentioned in his Nirāt Phrabāt, had died.

Very often the poet expressed his disillusion with people and with life. To him, poverty and the lack of honour as well as reputation, seemed to be the cause of his unhappiness. He became self-conscious and kept referring to poverty in connection with people in his society. Without wealth, there is no honour and without honour one could find no friends and worst of all, no love. Even his own sisters and relatives were accused of not rendering him any mitigation. Speaking about them he wrote:

"They used to be all pure and sweet as crystal sugar,

Now that I have waned, they turn insipid and then sour."¹

At Bāng Phrom, the place reminded Sunthōn Phū of the Phrom - the four-faced Brahma. He thought of people in society where he lived and wrote:

"Now-a-days there are people in Ayuthayā (Bangkok)

Who have hundreds and thousands of faces more than Brahma's."²

He wrote to express the consciousness of his poverty when he arrived at Bāng Thōranī, the village of the Earth:

"Here I have arrived at the village of Bāng Thōranī.

Oh, Earth, there will never be a shortage of leaves of egg-plants.

While others eat pork, I shall eat salt."³

Speaking of love, the poet mentioned his lack of love with self-pity. At Bāng Chāk he wrote:

"When I reached Bāng Chāk,

I had no beloved to leave behind.

1. Ibid., p.231

2. Ibid., p.232

3. Ibid., p.234.

Oh, Karma, since when did I compile¹ you,

So that women turn against me ?

Whoever I love has no pity on me."²

This attitude recurs many times throughout the poem. It gives the poet a new expression in his Nirāt poem. The expression of self-pity has become an important theme which Sunthōn Phū uses again and again in his Nirāt poems.

Human description is often vividly given, especially, at Pāk Kret, the area in which the Mōn population was concentrated. Here the poet gave realistic description of their dresses and manners together with their houses and their daily activities. Whenever possible, the poet gave the account of the etymology of the place name. This was done in considerable detail for Sām Khōk. Certain noteworthy incidents were recorded as well. For example, the poet and his companions were haunted by the ghost at Wat Mōn Cheong Rāk - under a banyan tree. A procession of an ordination in a Mōn village was also recorded.

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1. He ascribes his lack of success with women to Karmic influences accrued over a long period.
 2. Ibid., p.233.

The music, the dances, and the singing together with the people who participated in the procession were described in a lively manner. The poet also stated here that he was composing poetry on the spot or at least he was noting down the event for the composition of his Nirāt poem. He was so attracted by the Mōn women that he could not turn his eyes from them. Sunthōn Phū in the role of his novice son wrote:

"My father told me that women stick faster
than the leeches,

How right he¹ is, and I must write this down
in poetry."

Flora and fauna were mentioned when the poet described the scenery of the places. Again there is no special section devoted to them as appeared in some conventional Khlōng Nirāt. However, birds, trees, flowers appear here and there all through Sunthōn Phū's poem. A pair of literary characters were mentioned but only because they suited his immediate purpose and imagination; the banyan tree at Wat Bāng Sai reminded him of the god of the banyan tree who took Anirut to make love to Usa. Here again, it can be seen that there is no such special section provided for such

1. Ibid., p.238.

references. The idea of referring to the literary character just came as an impromptu improvisation.

Long passages between two continuous place names are found to be devoted to special events or incidents (i.e. the ghost, ordination, human description of the M^on). At night when the poet stopped to rest, and at the destination where the poet spent the night, the descriptions are usually long. In this poem, the purpose of the journey was to find medicine which was buried near Wat Chao Fā, the poet gave a detailed description of his activities there. According to his map, the medicine the poet tried to recover was:

"The medicine which makes one handsome,

Decayed teeth will grow again and the grey
hair will disappear.

Old men will become young with good complexions."¹

The poet finally found the exact location but the surface was so rocky that it was too difficult to dig down to find the medicine. The poet and his friends worked on the site until dark. The poet fell ill of a

1. Ibid., p.246.

stomach upset. He had to enact a special rite asking the spirit to give them permission to recover the medicine. However, as soon as the ritual flag was planted a storm came with rain and hail. The poet realized that his request could not be granted so he abandoned his plan and returned to Bangkok.

The purpose of composition was stated at the closing of the poem;

"I have recorded this account of hardship,
 When I pursued the map of instruction.
 Whatever I have seen during this journey up
 the country,
 I have recorded as if I was making a map.
 This poetry may not be so melodious,
 Because I feel embarrassed to mention any
 one woman.
 Only a poet who truly has a dear one,
 Can express melancholy of love melodiously."¹

This conclusion shows that the poet felt free enough of the Nirāt convention to experiment with a journey poem which was not restricted to a faithful love of one

1. Ibid., pp. 254 - 255.

woman, yet he also implicitly recognizes the power of the convention by making a mock comment on the poor quality of his poetry written in these circumstances in which the convention is partially broken.

Conventional Nirāt poems were written by Sunthōn Phū at several stages of his career, both before and after Nirāt Wat Chao Fā, and they seem to be associated with a definite religious purpose for the journey. This Nirāt, Nirāt Wat Chao Fā, has a monastery for its destination but it is not in any way connected with a ceremonial Buddhist event. The "pilgrimage" is for a secular, personal purpose and so, by contrast, perhaps provides the right atmosphere for a breaking of the convention.

Nirāt Phra Prathom

It is generally agreed that this Nirāt poem was composed by Sunthōn Phū at the ripe age of fifty-seven. The poet went on a pilgrimage to visit Nakhōn Prathom with his children. He wrote at the beginning:

"I parted with profound hesitation, beloved,
And I did not ask you to come to admire Phra
Prathom with me".

1. Ibid., p. 289.

Although, the implication of the above lines from the poem is that the poet left his beloved behind, and one would therefore expect his Nirāt poem to be his melancholic expression of love, Sunthōn Phū's main concern appears to be much more than this expectation of his melancholy of separation from people he loved and was acquainted with. In this journey, he often expressed his passionate feelings towards his dead wives. His worry and concern was for his children, his relatives and friends as well as the whole of humanity. It is also found that Sunthōn Phū had made use of a more conventional style to express these feelings. While he kept his independent characteristic of mentioning the people who surrounded him instead of projecting his melancholy towards one beloved, he related objects and place names to express sad feelings of separation. Less self-disillusion is seen and fewer critical comments are made on society and his fellow men. Only once it was that he thought of old friends when his boat moved along the front of the rear palace but here he recalled his past happiness among friends and he became contented. His grief was expressed only when the places reminded him

of the people he loved or respected. At Wat Rakhang, for example, he thought of the funeral of someone whom he respected as his own sister. At Khl̄ong Bāng Kruay, the place in which his former wife used to live, he wrote:

"At Khl̄ong Bāng Kruay my heart saddened,

I never forget my beloved, Nim.

We used to share happiness and suffering
together.

Alas, it has been nine years since you were
gone.

It is Karma - all human and animal kinds must
part,

Oh, beloved, I grieved when you left me."¹

At Bāng Srī Th̄ong, he thought of an old friend whose name happened to be the same as the place name. Srī Th̄ong used to sing the Sakawā (poetry competition game) with him. The time when they met and worked together reminded him of old age. He then thought of his son whose mother had already passed away and he wrote:

"My poor child spent days and nights in
sorrow,

Longing for his mother who died.

1. . Ibid., p.272.

Staring at the Khlōng is he, there his
mother's house once used to be.

Wiping his tears, he prostrates himself
in obeisance."

Descriptions of human activities and scenic
descriptions were given in the same line as in
conventional Nirāt poems. The poet mentioned in his
poem:

"At anything I see along the way in the
country,

I grieve as I think of you."²

Flowers, trees, fruits, animals and other natural
objects were often mentioned at most places, then they
were used to relate the poet's feelings to his beloved.
The wallowing buffalo, for example, reminded him of
the heat which in turn, gave him the feeling of the
heat of love. He longed for it, When he mentioned
the birds, he first gave the description of their actions
and their characteristics before relating them to the
beloved. This aspect of expression is often found
when the poet devoted long passages as he travelled from
one place to the other. When he arrived at Khlōng Khwāng,

1. Ibid., p. 272.

2. Ibid., p. 276.

for instance, he stopped there to eat. He thought of himself as a bird. With wings, he imagined, he could fly to take her to be with him. He then looked at the faces of the women he saw at that place to find that none of them looked similar to his beloved. There was a sugar mill near the site which he could see and he thought of the way in which the machine in the mill normally squeezed the juice out of the cane to produce sugar. The juice reminded him of his tears when he cried and longed to see her. Mango trees reminded him of one of his former loves whose name was the same as the name of the tree. The food he ate no longer tasted good as his beloved was not there. He looked at the flowers, the birds all of which reminded him of his beloved.

Another noted parallelism between Sunthōn Phū's and the conventional Nirāt composition style is the long description of the religious site while the poet was visiting it. He spent the night there. During the day he went sightseeing in the surrounding area. At night he stayed to watch the celebration. Music and singing played and sung at night were recorded. The

legend of Phra Prathom itself was then given as information of folk etymology. The next morning, he prayed as he paid homage to the Buddha image. He covered it with a piece of cloth; then he left to return to Bangkok.

Nirāt Muang Phet

This Nirāt is attributed to Sunthōn Phū. The poet stated that he composed this "itinerary along the waterway" during the voluntary journey he made on behalf of his patron. The nature of his business was not specifically stated. Many of the events and activities during the journey were recorded in terms of straight descriptions of human activities mingling with scenic and natural descriptions. These descriptions, however, were often used as the poet's means of expressing self-disillusion. Sometimes he touched on the subject of people and their society expressing his comments and displeasure. The poet's disappointment with friends, relatives, and other human beings are found expressed throughout the poem.

At Khlōng Toei, for instance, he wrote:

"There is no definite love for me.

Alas, I drift to grasp desperately for

someone to love."¹

The poet once associated himself with horseshoe crabs especially when the female ones had been caught for food and the male ones had been left alone. The male crabs soon died because they were at a loss and did not know where to turn to. Here the poet wrote about human beings saying:

"At present, if there were a woman who
would not forsake her husband,

I should love her dearly even if she were
ugly.

Oh, how I pity these horse-shoe crabs,

I can no longer look at human faces."²

When the poet stopped to pay homage to the image of the reclining Buddha at Tham Khao Luang, he found the image with a piece of silk cloth which belonged to his former beloved and a cloth of his own. The cloth reminded him of the severance of their love and the uncertainty of things and life. To him people are dishonest and deceitful. His attitude on human

1. Ibid., p. 293

2. Ibid., p. 304.

beings in general is expressed when he arrived at Khl̄ng Sām Sip S̄ng Khot (the thirty-two bends). He wrote:

"The number of bends can be counted,
The crookedness of human heart cannot.
They allure, deceive, fold and turn crookedly
No canal on this earth can be as crooked as
the human heart."

The poet later compared the Chup^VChaeng^V shellfish (cerithidea obtusa) with poor people living in his own society. They were the helpless victim of the stronger animal - human beings in particular. Like poor people they were completely unable to exercise their right and they could not express their needs and say what they want.

Sunth̄n Phū also criticized people who allowed themselves to become slaves of money. At Khl̄ng Bāng Luang, for instance, he saw the Chinese and their Thai wives. He then wrote of Thai women who married the Chinese:

1. Ibid., p.299

"When Thai men asked for their hands in
 marriage,
 They refused, their hearts hard as iron.
 Having money to tempt them, like the Chinese,
 Their iron was heated up and gently softened."¹

The poet criticized the lack of religious devotion among villagers and people in general. He wrote sarcastically that if he had money he would restore the temple of Wat Khok which was partly destroyed by the Burmese during the war. In Tham Khao Luang he wrote when he saw a Buddha image:

"There is a reclining Buddha with legs
 stretching out,
 People had stealthily dug holes all around.
 There are cracks at the chest and the legs.
 Oh, brothers, why not restore this image.
 The wall of the shrine has fallen against the
 cave.
 Alas, when I think about it, tears fill my eyes."²

During the journey, long passages of description are employed whenever the poet rested and when his boat

1. Ibid., p. 294

2. Ibid., p. 313.

reached the sea. The descriptions here include the activities of the people around him. He described their cooking activities, the monkeys, and the birds. He even went into describing the monkeys' behaviour and their relationship within their own family.

The mother monkey was tending her babies which left a passionate impression upon him. This feeling was interrupted by the happy noises of the people singing followed by the poet's change of mood and interest and he turned to describe the plots of land used by the people together with various kinds of vegetables they grew.

Another long description came when the journey went further out to sea. Scenic description and the natural phenomena such as the sky, stars, were given together with the appearances of fish, noises of the birds, the monkeys, gibbons and the storm which stirred the poet's excitement.

When the journey was near to its end, the poet, who must have had many friends in the area, devoted long passages to give detailed and vivid descriptions of his past relationship with the people living in the

area. He recalled them one by one, and mentioned his past association with each of them. He also mentioned his former girl friends and what had become of them. At Wat Kudi Thong the poet stopped at the house of an old friend called Khun Phaeng to visit his wife. He gave a sympathetic description of her whose husband was killed in the war with Laos. He later thought of going to visit one of his former girlfriends, Thong Mi, but he decided to abandon the plan because she was already married and her husband might be jealous of his visit. The journey ended at the house of Khun Phaeng, the new holder of the same title as his old friend who was killed. There he and Khun Phaeng discussed a certain business together.

Instead of returning to Bangkok after finishing his assignment, the poet stayed on and went sightseeing as well as going around to visit his old friends. A long description was devoted to his visit to Tham Khao Luang where he paid homage to Buddha images. This comprises a special section in itself as the poet gave a lengthy description of the building, the compound, and the surrounding area of the religious site.

The poet stated the purpose of his composition at the end of the poem:

"I composed this account of observation,
 Of places along the journey,
 So that people can read as an account of
 Muang Phet.
 I have shown my gratitude towards my patron.
 I have used my perfumed cloth,
 To cover the image on the mountain.
 The merit should go forth to those who
 are kind.
 All readers are invited to share this merit
 with me."¹

All except one of the Nirāt poems by Sunthōn Phū are composed in the Klōn verse form. The only poem composed in Khlōng, Khlōng Nirāt Suphan, was composed in 1841 while the poet was a monk. Apart from its verse form, the method used in this poem is virtually the same as in Sunthōn Phū's other Klōn Nirāt poems. However, being a master of the Klōn who was so used to the descriptive power of Klōn verse form, he tried to make use of the Khlōng in the same way thus making his Khlōng poem rather long and comprehensive. Indeed, Khlōng Nirāt

1. Ibid., p. 315.

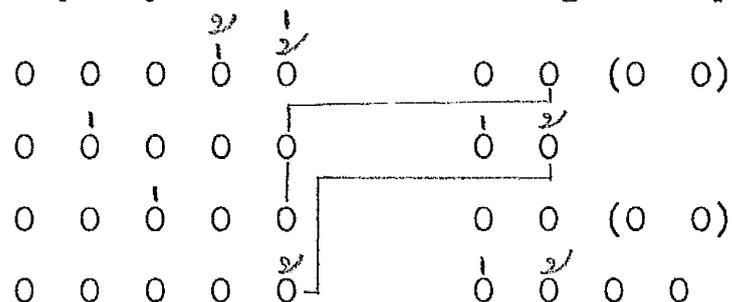
Suphan contains as many as 462 stanzas - making it the longest Khlōng poem in existence. One hundred and twenty three locales are mentioned all together.

Why Sunthōn Phū chose to compose this poem in Khlōng is unclear. Prince Damrong suggested that the poet was probably disparaged by his fellow poets that he was only best at composing Klōn poetry but never Khlōng. Khlōng Nirāt Suphan was perhaps composed as Sunthōn Phū's reply to this criticism.¹ However, it is possible to see from Sunthōn Phū's execution and technique of Khlōng composition that his main objective was to experiment with the verse form. After all, he has successfully experimented with the Klōn verse by initiating internal rhymes to obtain the maximum beauty for the Klōn. This technique has been recognized as Sunthōn Phū's innovation.² Similarly, it can be observed that Sunthōn Phū has tried to use the same technique of internal rhymes in the hope of bringing the Khlōng verse to its highest aesthetical peak.

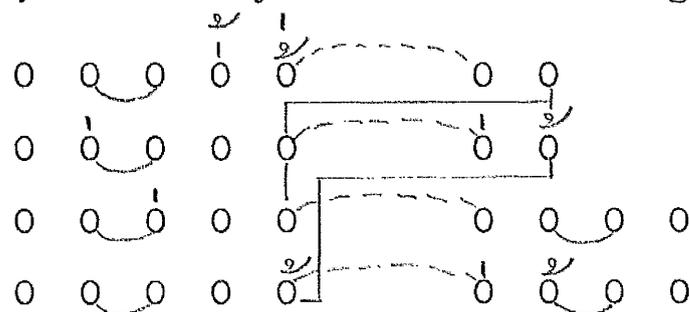
1. See Chīwit Lae Ngān Khlōng Sunthōn Phū, Op. Cit. p.39

2. Ibid., pp. 68 - 69.

Ordinary rhyme-scheme of Khlōng Sī Suphāp



Sunthōn Phū's rhyme-scheme of Khlōng Sī Suphāp



Sunthōn Phū's innovation of internal rhyme is shown by the curved lines. Solid curved lines indicate the compulsory internal rhyming while the broken lines indicate that rhyming is preferred though not compulsory. Although the essence of Thai poetry is rhyming and, as Sunthōn Phū had shown in the Klōn verse form, the beauty of verse can be perfected by additional internal rhymes, too elaborate internal rhyming of Khlōng verse has proved to be unsuccessful. The aesthetic appreciation of the Khlōng verse largely depends on two important factors; the correct distribution of prescribed tone syllables and the ability to choose perfect sophisticated literary

vocabulary for each expression. The addition of any internal rhyme simply makes it more difficult for the poet to meet this demand. Thus, Khlōng Nirāt Suphan failed to attract scholars of Thai literature as being one of the "high class" literary pieces of Khlōng poetry mainly because, as Prince Damrong had rightly observed, the poet was more interested in the perfection of the internal rhymes rather than the correct usage of literary vocabulary.¹ He had lacked the basic education which was necessary for any Khlōng poet. His humble background only enabled him to establish himself as the master of Klōn composition but not the Khlōng. As far as the general public is concerned, Khlōng Nirāt Suphan has also failed to attract them, as the Khlōng was never fully understood and appreciated by ordinary readers. Nevertheless, in terms of development of the Nirāt poetry, Khlōng Nirāt Suphan contains various new elements found in common with other Klōn Nirāt poems composed by Sunthōn Phū. His Klōn Nirāt poems remain unsurpassed.

Even though Sunthōn Phū still recognized the power of convention set by poets before him, he has partially

1. Ibid., pp. 66 - 67.

broken away from this convention by adding to the theme of love-longing other elements he personally yearns for in life or which cause him to feel disillusioned. His most important contribution to the Nirāt poetry is perhaps the concept of personal history and social criticism in the Nirāt poem. Much of the poet's biography has been reconstructed from his Nirāt poems. As we have seen in Nirāt M̄uang Klaeng, he reflected that his parents had been living separately; his mother lived in Bangkok while his father was a monk living in the poet's birthplace, M̄uang Klaeng. In other poems, the poet outlined to his readers, his relationship with his wives, children, relatives and friends. His own character and appearance are even revealed. He spoke about people whom he had met and recalled his past relationship with them by using the locales along the route of his journeys.

The death of King Rāmā II had brought an end to Sunthōn Phū's career as a court poet. Not only had he lost the royal patronage but the accession to the throne of his former rival, whom he was well aware that he had offended on several occasions, had made the

situation even graver. The poet became disillusioned and his heart was full of sorrow as he decided to take refuge in the monastery. His discontent is often reflected in the form of self-pity and his adherence to the Buddhist view of the uncertainty of life. He often reveals his happy past with passion and nostalgia. Nirāt Phukhao Thōng represents the strongest reflection on his nostalgic feeling for his past, especially during the happy days under King Rāmā II's protection. This aspect has become the theme of his longing which, apart from other elements in life including the beloved, recurs repeatedly in all his later Nirāt poems (Nirāt Wat Chao Fā, Nirāt Suphan, Nirāt Phra Prathom, and Nirāt Phet Buri). Everytime Sunthōn Phū, in making a journey, passes the royal palace he writes about his King.

"When I arrive at the front of the Royal Palace,
I feel as if my heart ceased; I can no longer
breathe.

O, my most beloved King.

You used to grant me audience every morning
and evening.

When you died it was as if my head was cut
off from my body.

I am left without relatives and friends,
 I am ill and impoverished worsened by the
 result of Karma.

There is no one for me to turn to."¹

His expressions of sadness are not solely on the subject of love-separation as in former Nirāt poems but his sadness arises also from seeing the ruined city of Ayuthayā or the crack in the Buddha image in Tham Khao Luang. Upon catching sight of the Chēdī Phukhao Thōng, Sunthōn Phū gives his description of its majestic site and appearance. But:

"Now the Chēdī looks very old.

The body and the base of the Chēdī are lined
 with nine cracks or more.

The top is broken and has fallen off.

Alas, even the Chēdī can be left neglected
 without love.

It makes me feel sad to tears when I think
 about it.

How then can we ensure our honour and fame,
 Be not forgotten so quickly, before our name ?
 I once had money and now live in poverty.

1. Nirāt Phukhao Thōng, Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem Nūng,
 Op. Cit. p.137.

All things are perishable - no certainty."¹

Sunthōn Phū's beloved woman is no longer the type of beauty to be admired as an ideal literary beauty of Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt or Khlōng Nirāt Narin. His is a more realistic woman with the typical quality of feminine temperament and passion. In fact he composed his first Nirāt poem following an incident where his beloved's jealousy had stirred up gossip, necessitating his speedy departure from Bangkok.¹ Having left without saying goodbye² his remorse led him to compose the poem which he wished to present to her on his return as a gift of love.³ In Nirāt Phrabāt, he wrote that he and his wife were not on speaking terms when he left for the journey.⁴ In Nirāt Suphan, Nirāt Phra Prathōm, and Nirāt Phetburī, the category of beloved mentioned did not refer to only one woman but included women, some of whom were already dead. The beloved object often covers more than just the love for a woman but extended to the love of the city, parents, children,

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1. Ibid., p.111
 2. Ibid., p.116 and 89
 3. Ibid., p.116
 4. Ibid., p.117.

and relatives. At Bāng Čhāk in Nirāt Phrabāt, for instance, the poet expresses his love and concern towards his mother and sister and brother.

"When I reach Khlōng Bāng Čhāk, I feel even sadder.

Who was it that gives such a name to this place ?

Calling it Čhāk "no love", "not knowing each other"

Why should this meaning become a place name ?

Čhāk "the place", Čhāk "the canal", two meanings,

Čhāk "the plant", also grows at this place.

O, why do all the Čhāk exist here together.

Čhāk "the name" Čhāk "separation" are making me feel sadder.

My heart grieves as I turn to look.

I see the palace where I once lived.

And I raise my palms together to pray,

Asking the god protector of the palace,

To protect my brother, my sister, and my mother

From all dangers."¹

Sunthōn Phū's love for the city is expressed many times. In Nirāt Myang Klaeng, for instance, he wrote:

1. Ibid., p.113.

"At Thap Nāng I feel so lonely,
 Seeing only the houses of the famers.
 The women do not look very pleasing to me.
 Spotted with mud as if they were painted with
 indigo.
 Although city women do put their make-up on,
 They look much better than them all.
 Alas, nothing looks pleasant outside the
 city.
 When I think about it I long to return."¹

During the reign of King Rāmā III, in which the majority of Sunthōn Phū's Nirāt poems were composed, there was an important change in the revenue structure in Siam. A system of tax farming was introduced to replace the royal monopoly system. The majority of the tax farmers were Chinese.² Although, these Chinese were ordered not to oppress the people in collecting taxes, it was found that a Chinese tax farmer often abused his power. According to Wales:

"His agents established their offices at such places as the junction of canals and streams, where with the beating of gongs they called upon all passing boats to stop and submit to a search. The

1. Ibid., p.87.

2. See Vella, Siam under Rāmā III, New York, 1957, p. 23.

slightest sign of fraud was punished by confiscation of all the trader's goods."¹

Sunthōn Phū, of course, resented this idea of allowing the Chinese such great advantage over the Thais. His anti-Chinese sentiment was duly expressed many times in his Nirāt poems. In Nirāt Muang Phet, for instance, he expressed his bitterness when he caught sight of a Thai woman marrying a Chinese man for economic reasons alone.² In Nirāt Phra Prathom, he wrote of Khun Phat, a Chinese tax farmer who had become wealthy because of the boom in his tax collecting business. Though a Chinese, Khun Phat had gained not only wealth at the expense of the Thais but he had also gained high status in Thai society because of his money.

"I admire Khun Phat who is doing so well.

He has money and gold and still making more
out of taxes.

His little wives are all happy,

Having their hair done neatly.

They are fortunate than most Thais.

Nowadays people respect you when you have money."³

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1. H.G.Q. Wales, "Ancient Siamese Government and Administration" New York, 1965, p. 221.
 2. Already mentioned above under Nirāt Muang Phet, see Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem Nung, Op. Cit. p.294.
 3. Ibid., p.287.

In Nirāt Wat Chao Fā, he discussed so vividly the activities of the tax collectors at a tax barrier along the stream.

"At the customs barrier at Bāng Sai I see a special sign,
 And several low tax officials on the barrier.
 They smoke pipes with cannabis as they test the sugar.
 They intimidate people and search their boats.
 When they find no taxable goods,
 They ask for papayas, dried shrimps, cucumbers, and eggplants from them.
 They even meticulously ask for oranges, chilli peppers and salt.
 People are so fed up with them cursing them in their hearts."

The minority group which was most admired by Sunthōn Phū was probably the Mōn people. In his Nirāt poems he often mentions them and sometimes he gives a description of their village, their daily activities, their characters and appearance. The Mōn during Sunthōn Phu's days, especially during the reign of King Rāmā III, must have been regarded as the holders of the best form of Theravada Buddhism. Mōn monks were highly regarded

as knowledgable.¹

Sunthōn Phū, who was himself a monk at the time, must have been well aware of this. To him, the Mōn custom was of great value in itself, and it was important that the Mōn should not allow themselves to be corrupted by the Thais. Of Mōn women, he wrote:

"Kret - this has long been a village of the Mōns.

The women there used to pile their hair high on their heads in a bun.

But now they take out hairs in a circle round the crown and merely look like dolls.

Also they powder their faces and darken their eyebrows with soot - just like the Thai.

What a vulgar change to make, untrue to them,

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1. According to legend, when Prince Mongkut (later King Rāma IV) was a monk, he became disillusioned when he had acquired the knowledge of Pali and Samskrit languages and could read and understand the Buddhist texts in the original form. He found a great number of doubtful interpretations especially in the area of a Bhikku's discipline. No senior Bhikku could give him any satisfactory answer to his searching questions. However, there appeared a Mōn monk at Wat Mahāthāt who was able to give the Prince most satisfactory answers. This pleased the Prince greatly and he set his aim to reform Thai Buddhism following the Mōn practice. See Damrong Rachānuphāp, Khwam Song Cham (Memoirs), Bangkok, 1963, pp. 31 - 75.

Like People who throw aside their own manners
and ways.

Alas, it is true as well that women are of many
minds.

Do not suppose you will meet one of a single
heart."

The poet talks of Mōn women with great admiration.
They are pictured as being pleasant, simple, and cheerful.
They might flirt with men and yet:

"At Bāng Khwāng, here it was formerly known
that Mōn girls were offensive in their manners.

But now Thai and Lao girls are even worse in
their behaviour.

They often put on airs and pout coquettishly.

Nowadays, Mōn girls are better than the Thais." ²

As a monk, Sunthōn Phū composed two Nirāt poems:
Nirāt Phūkhao Thōng and Nirāt Wat Chao Fā. The poet
realized that in composing a Nirāt poem the love-longing
element must not be excluded and yet it is understood
that monks should refrain from such feelings. Indeed,
Sunthōn Phū was well aware of this and in Nirāt Phūkhao
Thōng, the poet put more emphasis on the pains arising

1. Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem Nung, Op. Cit., p. 140.

2. Ibid., p. 271.

from nostalgic memories of the past especially the happy past as King Rāmā II's protégé. He did, however, mention mild love-longing and noted at the end of the poem:

"Because it is a poetical tradition,
 Like cooks who prepare Phanaeng curry,
 Must put in all necessary ingredients,
 Then add pepper and parsley on top.
 So with woman, I put her in for taste."¹

In Nirāt Wat Chao Fā, Sunthōn Phū avoids this delicate matter by composing the poem under the name of his novice son, Nū Phat, who accompanied him to Wat Chao Fā on that journey. Having rid himself of the authorship he could express his feelings as an ordinary man. Upon arriving at Bāng Kranai, the novice flirted with the Mōn girls.

"When I reached Bāng Kranai I saw their faces,
 Women in boats, selling sugar cane.
 No longer typically Mōn in their graces,
 They dressed, and styled their hair, like Thais.

1. Ibid., p. 152.

But they lacked the Thai careful manner,
 And when the wind blew their shawls,
 They failed to keep their "diverting things"
 under cover.

I joked with them, "your silk shawls are
 dipping in the water."

How much are those two pieces of sugar cane?"

They knew what I was up to and said to me
 laughingly,

"Little boy, is that why you peep for sugar
 cane?"

I should have said nothing.

What a pity, let this be a lesson to me."¹

In this way, Sunthōn Phū brought Nirāt to its height. Nirāt poems flourished during his time. This period and after found many Nirāt poets and many of the poems were written in Sunthōn Phū's style and technique. Two of these poets, Nai Mī and Mōm Rāchōthai, are believed to be Sunthōn Phū's students. In fact one of Nai Mī's Nirāt poems, was at first attributed to Sunthōn Phū because of its similarity to Sunthōn Phū's

1. Ibid., p. 244.

style.¹ It has also been alleged that Mōm Rāchōthai had asked for Sunthōn Phū's assistance when he composed his Nirāt London.²

As Nobles and Princes were composing Khlōng Nirāt poems, Sunthōn Phū was busy composing most of his in Klōn. Five of his Nirāt poems were composed during the reigns of King Rāmā III and IV. His poems flourished and reached popularity during this period. However, only Nai Mī, his gifted follower composed Nirāt poems in the Klōn verse form during the reign of King Rāmā III. Nai Mī produced three Klōn Nirāt poems; Nirāt Chalāng in 1827, Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang in 1836, and Nirāt Suphan in 1844, all in Klōn and following Sunthōn Phū very closely.

1. See Thanit Yūphō, Banthuk Ryang Phū Taeng Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang (a note on the authorship of Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang) in Chīwit Lae Ngān Khlōng Sunthōn Phū, Op. Cit. pp.71 - 82. It should be noted, however, that it was, in fact, Phrayā Anumān Rāchathon who discovered the evidence and later suggested to Thanit Yūphō that the correct authorship of this Nirāt poem should be established. See Fūn Khwām Lang, Op. Cit. Vol. 1, pp. 491 - 496.
2. See Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Preface to Nirāt London, Prachum Phongsāwadan Phak Sī Sip Hā, Ruam Chot Mai Het Ryang Thut Thai Pai Prathet Angkrit Mūa Phō Sō 2400 (Siamese and English Records of the Siamese Embassy to England in 1857-58), Bangkok, 1927, p.107.

In his first Nirāt, Nirāt Chalāng, Nai Mī acknowledged Sunthōn Phū as his master humbling himself as a new poet in the field of Nirāt composition.¹ His Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang is so similar to Sunthōn Phū in its style that it was thought to be composed by Sunthōn Phū himself.² In order to show Sunthōn Phū's influence in Nai Mī's poems, Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang will be briefly discussed.

As this poem is an account of a journey on a pilgrimage to an important religious shrine like Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai and Klōn Nirāt Phrabāt, the last section was devoted to the description of activities at the destination. In fact it is the highlight of the journey and the satisfactory fulfilment of the poet whose main purpose of making this journey was to visit the shrine and to gain merit as the result of the devotion.

As his introductory passage, the poet begins by giving the exact date of departure, the place of destination, and the melancholic theme of separation. He turns back to look for his beloved as he leaves his

1. Nai Mī, Nirāt Chalāng, Bangkok, 1873, p.55

2. See Thanit Yūphō, Preface to Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang Bangkok, 1961, pp. 1 - 31.

last words of love for her. An important land mark of Bangkok, Rāmā III's temple of Wat Pho, was mentioned to signify the glory of Buddhism.

When the journey begins, the poet starts conventionally by revealing his past happiness with his beloved as the building and the places remind him of her. At Wat Thong, for example, he thought of his beloved's golden ring which she used to put on his finger when he asked for it as a gesture of love exchange. Then as he arrived at the rear palace, his personal history was revealed. He related to us his contacts with people who had lived there, the heroic deeds of the three princes (Čhao Fā Krom Luang Anurak, Čhao Fā Krom Luang Thibēt Bōdin, and Čhao Fā Krom Luang Narinthanarēt) who suppressed the Burmese successfully but then they had passed away leaving the palace behind without a protector. This, of course, was like the poet leaving his beloved behind. At a brewery, Nai Mī said he could do without drinking but to live without love would not do for him. To him the drunkenness of love is so great that no one can stop it.¹ Names of fruits and trees

1. This can be compared with Sunthōn Phū's similar philosophical statement when he arrived at the same brewery in Nirāt Phū Khao Thōng.

are used to refer love-melancholy to the beloved. Mamuang (mangoes) reminded him of Muang, his beloved, and at Bang Muang he felt like climbing the mango tree to get the fruit because he had not eaten one for so long. Philosophical expressions are found on friendship and human experience. On human experience, Nai Mi wrote:

"A Jack fruit has thick thorns, it does not
look appealing,

But its smell and taste inside are pleasing.

This is like a human being, good at heart
although he may be bad looking.

Why should we pay attention to appearance ?

It is the course of Kamma.

So are people with good looks but wicked hearts."

The technique of expansion is also used.¹ At Wat Phikun for instance, a direct transfer of the FM is employed. Thus the poet caught sight of the Phikun flowers at Wat Phikun. Then he thought of his beloved making a garland using Phikun flowers and the smell of flowers attracted the bees which clung to them as if the flowers were theirs. He thought of his beloved who was far away and was left alone. He too felt sad

1. See full treatment of this technique in Chapter VI.

and lonely. He could not bear the sight of his friends' expression of happiness during the journey. He then described their activities. They asked him to look at the mangoes along the way and mangoes reminded him of his beloved.

Etymology of the place names were given at two places; at Bān Nai Krai and at Phra Prathom. Both places have legendary stories wellknown to the people. A pair of literary characters who suffered the experience of love separation was mentioned. They are the same characters mentioned by Sunthōn Phū in Nirāt Wat Chao Fā and Nirāt Nakhōn Prathom. The circumstance which the poet uses to mention the names is also similar to Sunthōn Phū's, i.e. under the banyan tree where Indra took Anirut to make love to Usā.

The last section of the poem includes the detailed description of Phrathaen Dongrang as an important religious site. The poet spent two nights there. He also went sightseeing around the area where he gave descriptions of the flora and fauna. At night there was a celebration where different kinds of rockets were fired and there were many kinds of performances and

singings including Sēphā and Sakawā.¹

By the end of the third reign, Klōn Nirāt poems of Sunthōn Phū's style and technique had been widely read and accepted even by the elite educated circle who often looked to Khlōng Nirāt as their literary tradition to follow. Nirāt poems composed after this period received influences from both the conventional Khlōng Nirāt and the Klōn of Sunthōn Phū tradition. Verse forms are no longer the factor for determining the conventional tendency of the poets. Poets now composed their Nirāt both in Khlōng and in Klōn and their Khlōng Nirāt contain new elements such as personal history, philosophical statements, etymology, etc. which were normally seen only in Klōn Nirāt poems. Kings, nobles and minor officials alike composed Nirāt poems freely in both Khlōng and Klōn. Mahā Roek (Luang Chakpānī) for instance, composed four Nirāt poems during the reign of King Mongkut, three in Klōn and one in Khlōng. His Khlōng Nirāt poem; Nirāt Krung Kao clearly showed that the poet followed the tradition of Khlōng

1. Both the content and the technique in this last section are virtually the same as Sunthōn Phū's Nirāt M̄ang Klaeng, Nirāt Phrabāt, Nirāt Phū Khao Thōng and Nirāt Wat Chao Fā.

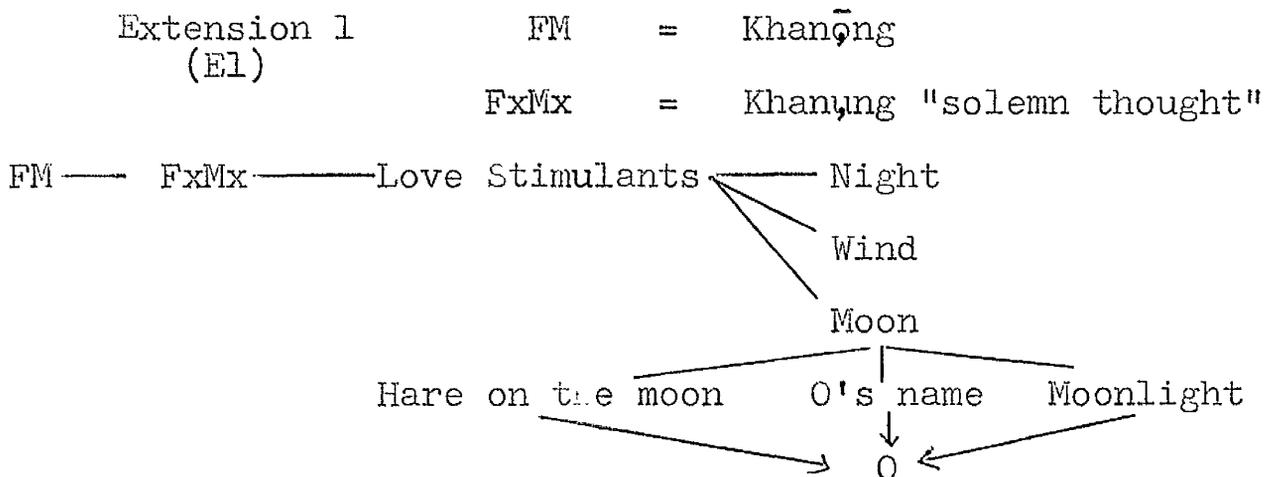
Kamsuan Sīprāt Nirāt Narin as one can find many stanzas which are similar to the conventional poems and the technique of puns and transfers employed are basically conventional. However, more description of scenery, human activities, etymology as well as personal history are found in the poem. On the other hand, the three poems in Klōn; Nirāt Phra Prathom, Nirāt Thawarawadī, and Nirāt Phra Pathawī are unmistakably of the Sunthōn Phū tradition. As in the case of Sunthōn Phū, the life of Mahā Roek can be constructed from the information revealed in his Nirāt poems.

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1. See Nathawut Suthi Songkhram, Chīwit Lae Ngān Khōng Luang Chakpānī, Phāsā Lae Nangsu, January, 1971, pp. 12 - 48.

CHAPTER VI

EXTENSION OF THE TECHNIQUE

This chapter deals with the nature of Sunthōn Phū's use of place names in his Nirāt poems. It gives details about his technique and demonstrates the extension of the traditional Nirāt technique into a wider and more complex range of connections and associations including the transference between these names and a set of images and ideas. It attempts to explain, as well as to list the types of extensions provided by Sunthōn Phū.



The basis for the idea, which is the core of E1 is the transfer from the locale FM by means of vowel harmony to FxMx. This produces a position where the poet has provided himself with a lexical form indicating the process of imaginative thought. From this he can derive a set

of images, the night, the wind, and the moon, which are stimulants for love. The poet then projects a reference associating it to his beloved through the homonym: Chan - moon, Chan - the beloved's name. Then the imagery is further complicated by reference to the hare in the moon and the moonlight, both of which images return the thought of the poet once more to the object which in this case is the beloved.

"th̄ung yān yao dao khan̄ng khan̄ng ning
 ying duk ying sia Chai khrai cha myan
 phra phrai phān sān siao suang sathyan
 Chon dyan khlyan khloi dong long rai rai
 ō dū dyan myan duang sudā mae
 kratai lae myan chan khit phitsamai
 hen saeng Chan an kraChāng khloi sāng Chai
 dyan khanlai lap tā laeo āwōn "

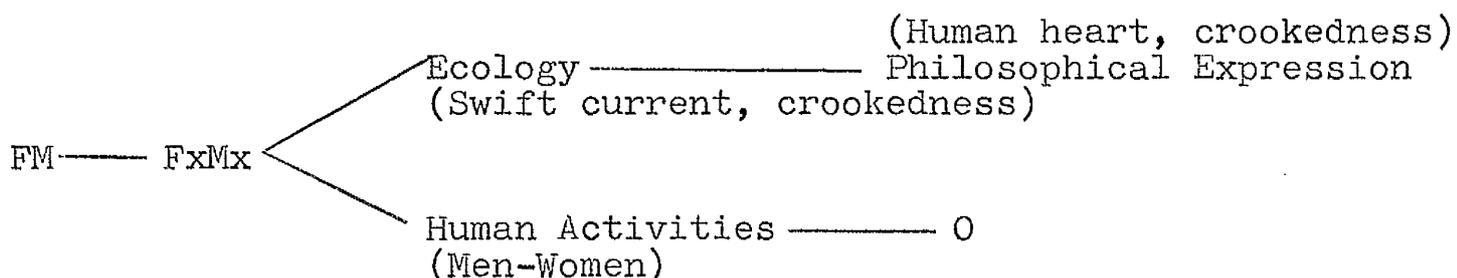
"At Dao Khan̄ng I have a solemn thought.
 As it gets darker my sorrow greatly increases.
 The blowing wind cruelly pierces through my
 heart.
 Until the moon moves close to the horizon.
 Seeing the moon is like seeing you, beloved.

The hare, he looks at me - like me thinking of
making love to you.

Seeing the moonlight my heart is lightened.

And when it disappeared, I yearn for you."¹

Extension 2: FM = Samrōng
(E2) FxMx = Samrān "contentment"



The basic idea that forms E2 is the transfer from the Locale FM to FxMx by means of vowel harmony and this change of the final consonant (n). The semantic element of FxMx provides the poet with the mood of observation in which he gives the description of the ecology of the locale pointing out the circling current and the crooked stream of the water. With the crookedness of the canal the poet then forms his philosophical idea by comparing the crookedness of the canal with the human heart. From the same site, the people, men and women and their activities remind him of his beloved and he compares them with her.

1. Nirāt Myang Klaeng, Nirāt Sunthōn Phū Lem Nung,
Op. Cit., p.86

Thus his mind returns once again to the object O which is his beloved.

"I arrive at Samrōng Canal with contentment.

We enter the canal in the morning at flood tide.

There are great numbers of boat men and women.

My heart saddens as if there is infection in it.

None of them can be compared with you, beloved.

We leave them without any thought of longing.

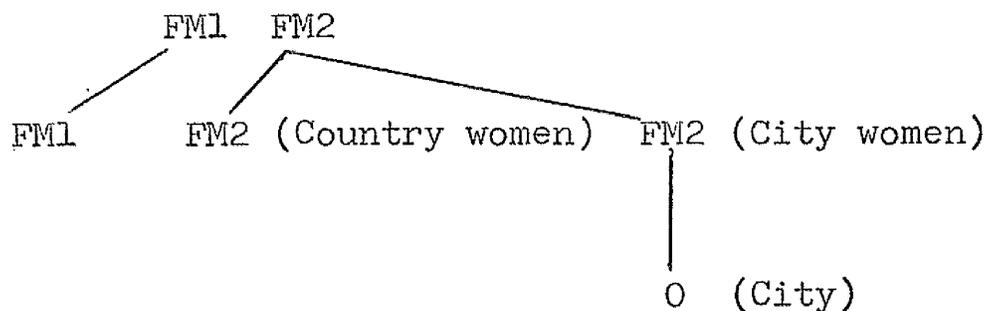
The current whirls strongly,

Running along the crooked canal.

Oh, when the current can be this crooked,

How can the human heart be straight."¹

Extension 3 : FM1 : Thap " a house, houses"
 (E3) FM2 : Nāng " a woman, women"



E3 represents a new extension where the two syllables

1. Ibid., p.87.

of the name of the locale form FM1 and FM2 i.e. the Double Direct Transfer. The FM2, however, is further complicated by the addition of words of opposite meanings while maintaining the FM2 as the head of the two semantically opposite attributes. The poet's imagination then returns to express his choice showing that he favours one of the two opposite terms thus eventually arriving at the object which in this case is the city he loves.

"At Thap Nāng I feel so lonely,
 Seeing only the houses of the farmers.
 Their women do not look very pleasing to me.
 Spotted with mud as if they were painted with
 indigo.
 Although city women do put their make up on,
 They look much better than them all.
 Alas, nothing looks pleasant outside the city.
 When I think about it I long to return."¹

Extension 4 :
 (E4)

Locale ----- Natural Object

FM

Amimistic Belief

Incident to strengthen this belief—FM—O

1. Ibid., p.87.

Locale : Bāng Rakāt

Natural Object : Takhian

FM : Takhian : The Takhian Log,
Takhian Spirit

In the case of E4, the locale does not form an FM for transfer. However, the poet mentions the natural object he catches sight of and uses it as the FM instead. This technique enables the poet to exploit his knowledge of animism and use it to heighten the excitement in his poem, and to avoid boredom. This is done by describing fresh evidence to strengthen his belief - an occurrence which appears before his naked eyes. From this incident, the poet returns his thought to his beloved object.

"At Bāng Rakāt we have to punt the boat.
Floating slowly along the flowing water.
We head towards the thick woods,
Where the tree shadows darken the canal.
We move carefully as we see the Takhian log.
As elders used to tell us,
Because the Goddess spirit of Takhian is haunting
Whoever touches the log will be wrecked.

As we are telling one another about this
belief,

We see a boat rowing towards the log,

And striking it head on.

The boat turns over and sinks.

Our hair stands on end with fear.

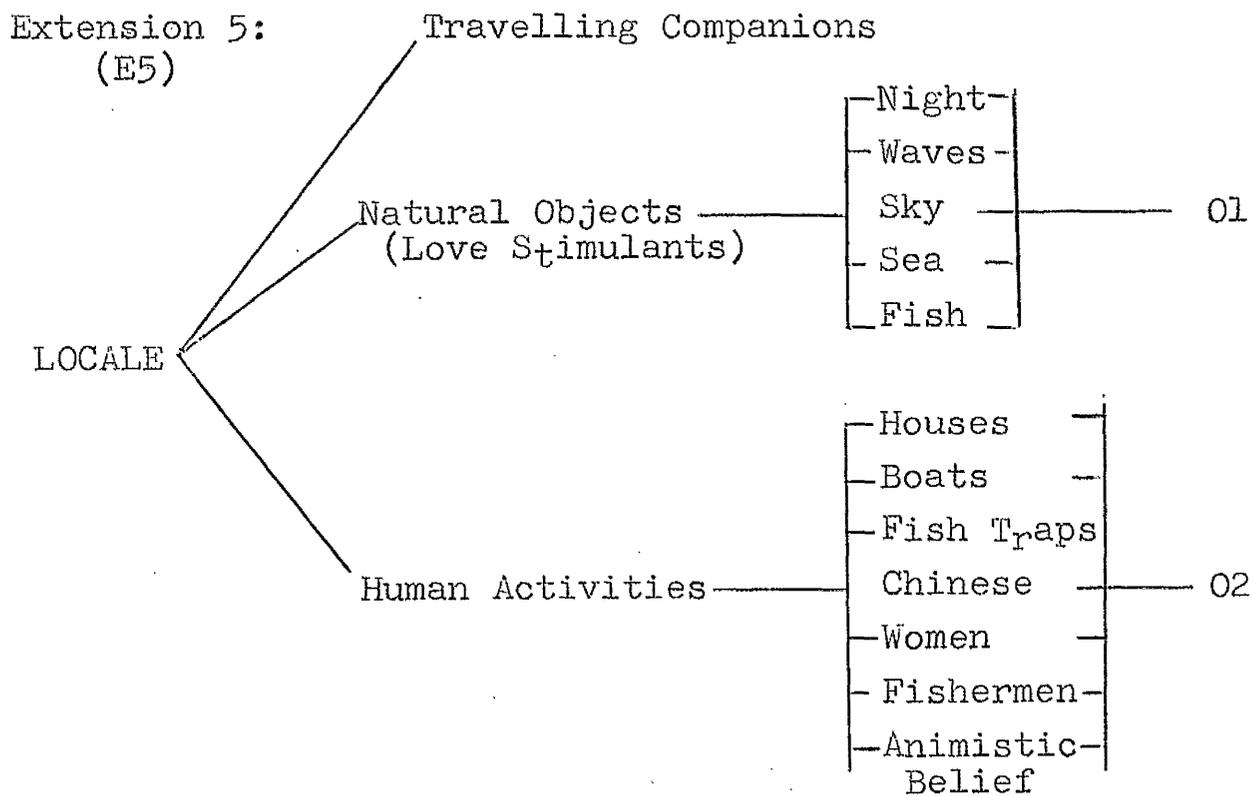
And we move our boat to the extreme right,

To avoid hitting the wooden spirit,

Of which we had just seen the destructive
power.

Oh, Goddess of the tree,

May I entrust my beloved to your care."¹



1. Ibid., p.90

E5 illustrates the way in which the poet makes use of the activities of his travelling companions, natural objects, as well as immediate human activities observed at a particular locale and associates these elements with his beloved. Natural objects, are used to relate to the poet's beloved woman (O1) but without any pun and transfer. Furthermore, the poet uses his description of human activities to relate to self pity which forms O2 in the diagram, again using neither pun nor transfer. This technique shows that the poet is a keen observer of nature and people. His description of human activities is realistically painted against the background of a specific natural phenomena such as the sky, the waves, and the sea, followed by certain animate objects such as the fish. Villagers and their daily activities are painted with great descriptive vitality. The presentation of natural objects no longer requires any special section as in other conventional Nirāt poems, but these objects may be picked up and arranged at random. In real life these things must appear together.

"We stop at a bridge at the centre of Bāng Plā sōi

Phum and Nøi are laughing happily.
Nai Saeng has lost his anger,
He is now smiling and smoking cannabis.
In sheer contentment, he cooks our meal.
Then we go up to the pavilion to rest at midnight.
Listening to the sound of the waves.
The sky is completely dark
As I look into the vast ocean,
Stretching as far as my eyes can see.
I can see bubbles dimly,
Splashing up and down glittering like jewels.
I see fish swimming,
They jump up as the waves splash.
Shoals of big fish chase one another jumping up high,
And the water splashes in the middle of the sea.
Looking at the ocean, I think of you, beloved.
Endlessly, you come into my thought.
Until the sun rises beautifully.
I see houses cluttered along the shore.
Boats are many, each is line with metal.
The Chinese eat their breakfast making funny noises.
Some people come out in the mud looking for crabs.
Whenever they catch one, they put it in the container
and look for more.

There are many young village women as well.

They ride on plank boards with their baskets
catching shellfish.

With forceful shoves, they move their boards
with their feet with great skill.

Resting their feet behind leaving trails on
the mud.

These fishermen are never lazy.

They really work with their feet and all their
energy.

It is almost midday before they can have breakfast.

They can move on the mud so gracefully.

Committing sin by catching fish has made them wealthy.

This they make up by putting a curse on their houses,

By which they cannot put any ornamental gable ends
on them

For if they do their houses would catch fire.

Seeing these houses I see myself as one who has no love.

This is why I do not look myself.

Alas, do I have to put some curses on the past sin
which has been following me.

For there is no beautiful woman to love me,

And I have to do with embracing my pillow.

When I love and admire someone

It is Karma that she never returns my love.

I think to myself about all this along the way,

Until we stop to stay,

With a friend in a Thai village."¹

Extension 6:

(E6)

FM1 : Laeng "to be arid, dry"

AM : Haeng "to be dry"

FM2 : Bān Taphong

FM1——— AM——— Lost direction ——— FM2

FM2——— Human Activities ——— Peacock ——— 0

E6 shows the technique of a semantic transfer from FM1 to AM without directly moving towards the object but rather moving on to the next Focale, to form the second FM (FM2). As the process of the journey is continuous, FM2 gives the poet the opportunity to describe the activities of the people as he travels past them into the jungle which in turn provides the peacock as an image and a love stimulant. It is then that the poet returns his thought to the object which is his beloved, giving a truthful account of the fact that he did not tell her about this journey.

"At Bān Laeng the trail is dry reaching to the wide space.

We look for the right direction to go on our journey.

1. Ibid., pp. 92 - 93.

We walk through the elephant grass and the tall
perrenial grass.

Until the hot sun comes out as we reach Bāntaphong.

There are many beautiful houses,

With bushes and flowers and hibiscus plants,

And fan palms in every farm.

We turn towards the direction of Thung Krathōlō.

Young girls are ploughing their farms,

They talk and ask questions among themselves.

I can see the mud scales on their necks.

They wrap dried betel nuts in their shawls.

I look away from them and turn into the jungle,

Where I hear the peacocks cry.

I think of you, beloved, I worry,

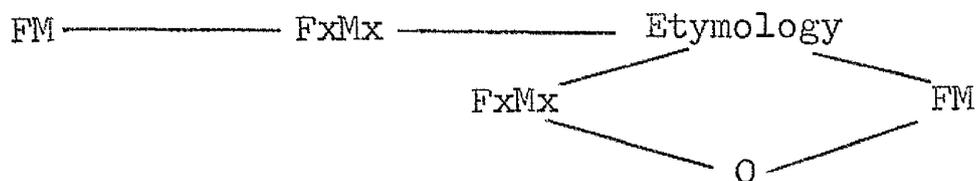
That when you learn that I have left Bangkok,

You will be sad waiting for my return."¹

Extension 7 :
(E7)

FM : Sām Sēn

FxMx : Sām Saen "Three hundred thousands



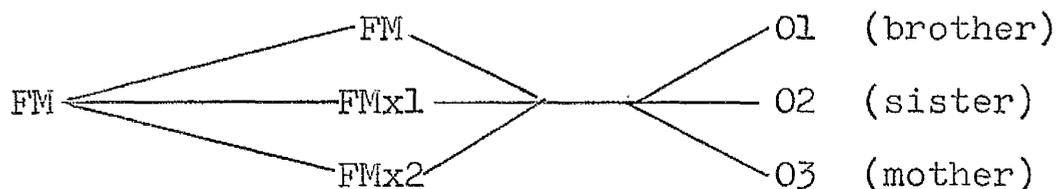
1. Ibid., p.103.

E7 illustrates the poet's ability to inject his knowledge of the etymology of the place name by first transferring the FM into the legendary name deriving at FxMx which is followed by the proper explanation of the actual etymology. From this etymological knowledge, the poet makes a comment philosophically about the uncertainty of the name of the place. His mind then returns to his beloved while he compares the place name with love.

"Arriving at Sām Sēn, I have heard,
 It used to be called Sām Saen at first.
 Three hundred thousand people had gathered to
 take a Buddha image out of the river.
 And they failed to move the image from the mud.
 The place was then named Sām Saen as a reminder.
 But everyone calls it Sām Sēn.
 How then could love be certain.
 Even a place can have several names.
 O, beloved, let your heart always be,
 As firm as the Buddha image.
 Even if a hundred thousand men ever ask for love,
 Let their one hundred thousand words fail to
 move you."¹

1. Ibid., p.114.

Extension 8 :	FM	:	ḶChāk	"name of the canal"
(E8)	FMx1	:	ḶChāk	"to be separated from"
	FMx2	:	Chāk	"Nipa palm"



"When I reach Khlōng Bāng ḶChāk, I feel even sadder.

Who was it that gives such a name to this place.

Naming it ḶChāk "no love, not knowing each other".

Why must this meaning become a place name ?

'ḶChāk" the place, "ḶChāk" the canal, already two,

'ḶChāk" the plant also grows at this place too.

Oh, why all "ḶChāk" coming to be here together,

"ḶChāk" the name, "ḶChāk" separation make me sadder.

My heart grieves as I turn to look.

I see the palace I used to live in.

I raise my palms together in prayer,

Asking the God protector of the palace

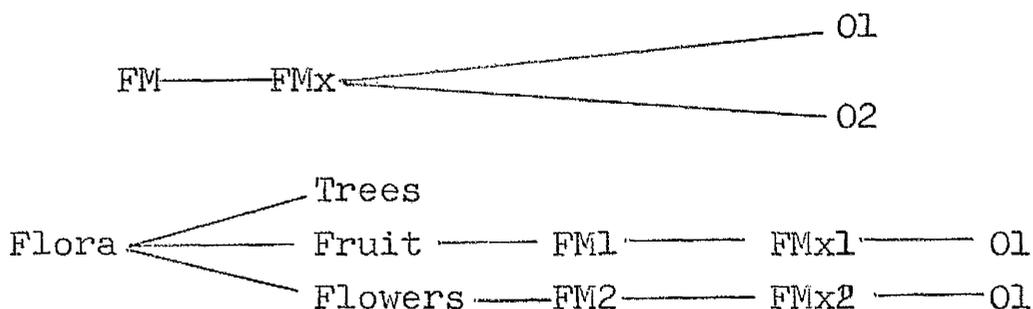
To protect the two; borther and sister, and my
mother

From all dangers while I am away."¹

1. Ibid., p.113.

Extension 9 :
 (E9)

FM	=	Kaeo
FM1	=	Chan "sandalwood"
FMx	=	Kaeo "beloved"
FMx1	=	Chan "beloved's name"
FM2	=	Rak "Love flower"
FMx2	=	"to love"
01	=	beloved
02	=	home



The basis for the idea which is the core of E9 is the semantic suitability of the name of the locale. It allows the poet to use the conventional technique of simple direct pun in order to arrive at the beloved and his home. However, the flora at the locale then come in to give the poet a further idea when the names of fruit provide him with another direct pun but this time from the name of the fruit rather than from the locale. The name of the flower is then used as the third direct pun and when he has associated the name of the flower with his beloved he then strengthens his love passion by

expanding their personal relationship developing into a personal history.

"This place is named Bān Wāt Bōt Talāt Kaeo.

I turn to look at the palace but it has disappeared from sight.

My beloved, you have also disappeared and so has my home.

Trees in the garden are flowering,

Looking gracious and beautiful on the river bank.

And the fruit, bananas, Rakham, Amphā, and Prāng,

All in bunches wet with dew.

I see the yellow Chan fruit scented with perfume.

Carpenter bees cling to it with meticulous care.

The fruit name is the same as your name,

And I yearn to see you as I see the fruit.

Carpenter bees clinging to the fruit - so like me when I embrace you.

O, beloved, my eyes are full of tears.

Then I see Rak leaves falling changing to new ones.

Like you, beloved, when you are still angry with me,

Although I have tried to tell you gently,

For us to be reconciled as before.

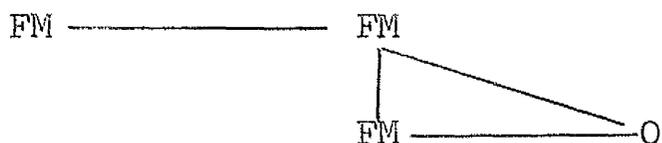
Alas, Rak tree, must your leaves fall like our love.

Beloved, you will not be angry with me for long."¹

1. Ibid., p. 114 - 115.

Extension 10 : FM = Phang "to erode, to be
(E10) demolished"

O = beloved



E10 illustrates the simple type of an expansion of a direct transfer where the FM is twice used purely for the comparative effect. Here, it can be seen that the FM is first used for the erosion of the river as the result of nature and then the poet compares this natural erosion with the erosion of his heart caused by the pain of separation.

"At Bāng Phang, the water has caused the banks
to fall.

This is also true as people say,

To be separated far away from my beloved,

My heart is falling apart like the river banks."¹

Extension 11
(E11)

FM ——— Etymology ——— Present Ecology ——— O

In E11, the FM provides the poet with the idea arising from his knowledge of folk etymology which he relays to his beloved. The folk etymology has also

1. Ibid., p.115.

aroused the poet's curiosity as he suddenly observed the present ecology of the place to see whether there is any trace of the past left in the locale as told in the story. He then plants his curiosity into the mind of his beloved wishing that she were there to answer his questions about the locale.

"Soon we arrive at Bāng Kṓ In,
 Where the water flows in a circle.
 I am not certain whether it is true,
 When elders told us the story,
 That this place was once a palace ground,
 of an Ayuthayā King.
 The King took his concubine to sightsee.
 This neglected jungle was then cleared.
 I remember the story as I look at the place,
 And I think the story might be true.
 But now all trees are dead.
 There are crocodiles to steal and scare people.
 O, beloved, if you were here with me,
 I should keep asking you the legends of these
 places."

1. Ibid., p. 117 - 118.

Extension 12 :	FM1	=	Mae	"mother"
(E12)	FM2	=	Lā	"to say goodbye, to take leave"
	0	=	Mother	
	FM1	FM2	FM2	FM1
				0

E12 illustrates another type of expansion in which both syllables of the FM, each carrying a meaning, are used. The transfer, however direct, is the reverse position of the two syllables of the FM.

"At Mae Lā I thought of my farewell to my mother.

Now she will look and wait for me in vain.

She will ask for news about me.

But her beloved son will still be far away."¹

Extension 13 :	FM	=	Plum	"to be contented"
(E13)	AMx	=	thuk	"to be discontented, unhappy"
	01	=	city, palace	
	02	=	younger (siblings)	
	03	=	mother	



The basis of the innovation found in E13 is Sunthōn

1. Ibid., p.120.

Phū's use of the AMx which has not been found in any conventional Nirāt poem. AMx is simply a form which has the opposite semantic connotation for the FM. This introduction of AMx provides the poet with a new element of an idea arising from the meaning of the locale itself which is anti-Nirāt sentiment. That is to say that the FM Pl̄m is the most unlikely word any Nirāt poet would choose to use as the expression of the feeling of longing. AMx, the complete opposite term is therefore introduced before bringing in the FM element just to say that the poet could not pretend to have such a feeling even if he had tried. Three objects are used here in order to reinforce the poet's unhappiness as there is more than one beloved object that he longs for.

"At Wat Sām Pl̄m my sorrow is redoubled.

How can I pretend to be happy and forget what
I have left behind.

O, heavenly beings, do protect the city and the
palace.

I ask all heavenly beings to protect my two
brothers and my mother.

Please protect them and make them happy.

I shall be away for a long time.

Please keep them safe from all dangers."¹

Extension 14
(E14)

Locale ————— Scenic Description ————— 0
Vowel Harmony (pheng-keng)

E14 illustrates how the technique of rhyme leads the poet to pick and use an immediate building or object which he saw at the locale. Then he expands this by giving description of other scenery together with other human activities before returning to his beloved city.

"thung sampheng keng tang rim fang nām
phae pra^Vcham ch^Vōt riang khiang khanān
mī sum s^Vōk tr^Vōk nāng ch^Vāng pra^Vchān
yang samran r^Vōng khap mai lap long
ō thānī sī ayuthayā eoi
n^Vuk cha cheoi k^Vō dai chom som prasong
cha lambāk yāk khaen pai daen dong
ao phum phong pheong khao pen yao ryan

"Arriving at Sampheng I see the Chinese house
of worship.

Small lanes lead to houses of pleasure.

1. Ibid., p.85.

They are still singing and never think of
sleeping.

O, this great city of Bangkok,

Which I had formerly longed to see.

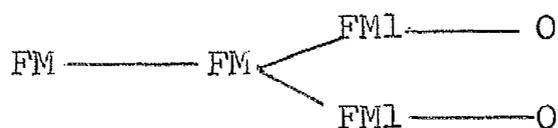
And now I have seen you,

But only to leave you again on a long suffering
journey."¹

Extension 15
(E15)

FM = Phụng "bees"

FML = Rāng "to be empty,
separation"



The basis of the idea which forms E15 is that the
idea arising from the FM after a direct transfer is
expanded for the purpose of forming a new and more relevant
FML, i.e. bees honey comb
neglected by bees poet separated from beloved
.... poet separated from love.

"At Bāng Phụng, the bees had left their honeycomb
empty.

Like me, leaving my beloved, leaving my love,

To suffer with my male travelling companions.

Where my beloved cannot come along to relieve my pain."²

1. Ibid., pp. 85-86
2. Ibid., p. 86

Extension 16
(E16)

FM——Scenic Description——Love Stimulant——O

E16 shows the poet's technique in expressing his love-longing without verbal transfer. Here, he chooses to describe the scenery which immediately comes into sight and then picks the most relevant object as his love stimulant. The significance of E16 is not the object itself as love stimulant but instead, the natural relationship of the objects (i.e. male and female doves enjoying each other's company) which is important and which is chosen here to be the love stimulant. The behaviour of the doves brings the poet to compare himself with them and finds in the end that the enjoyment demonstrated by the birds is the very kind of enjoyment he dearly needs but is barred from by separation.

"I reach the spacious meadow.

It is called Thung Son Khlā in the jungle,

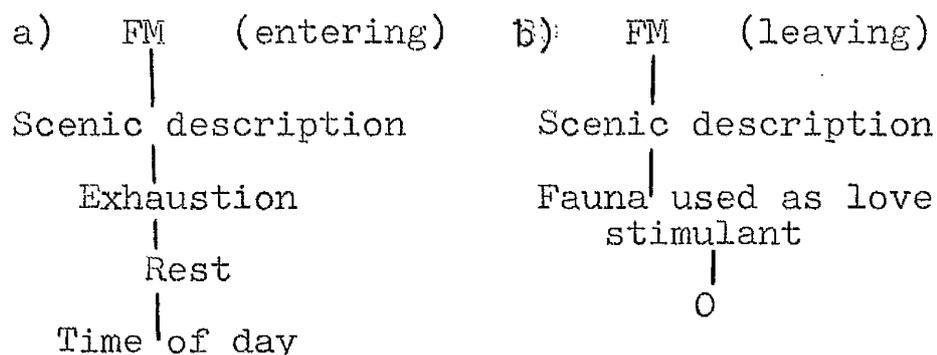
Surrounded by thick woods on the slopes.

Doves are cooing calling each other in the
jungle.

Some dash down to play on the dusty ground with
their partners

They rush up and fly around when they see us.
 Some raise their neck to coo, kook koo, kook koo.
 The red turtle-doves hide in the hay.
 O birds, you look so happy with your beloved,
 Enjoying making love, veiling yourselves with
 wings and tails.
 You have put me to shame, I¹ am so lonely and
 far away from my beloved."

Extension 17
 (E17)



E17 shows another technique of arriving at the beloved O without using any verbal transfer. The locale is mentioned twice; upon arriving and upon leaving. It is interesting to note that when the name of the locale is mentioned, the poet immediately gives scenic description. This is common for Sunthōn Phū as he often gives straight description of places without arriving at the beloved

1. Ibid., pp. 95 - 96.

object and even when he does arrive at his beloved in the end, the scenic description is often used immediately after the mentioning of the name of the locale. By so doing the poet can use, and indeed makes available, objects seen as elements for scenic description in order to provide meaningful imagery and to associate with his beloved. In this particular case, it can be seen that by using fauna as the love stimulant, the poet brings into the scene his knowledge of animals and he describes them with amazing skill and keen observation. Here, the choice of two lonely horseshoe crabs which are separated from each other when the male partner is caught by the fisherman and the use of the sunset as the natural setting is, indeed, sad in tone. The situation becomes an appropriate one for the poet to express grief, longing and lament. From animals the poet learns wisdom. He recalls his own course of love when he observes what part love plays in the behaviour of animals. The death of the horseshoe crabs, though separately and with different causes, reminds the poet of the intimacy and affection which should exist between those who are pledged to each other.

"Arriving at Banglamung I see mountain streams.
It is the official settlement.
There are lots of houses and a temple.
I feel so sad and exhausted,
Both of my legs are sore and tired.
We sit down to rest at a pavilion,
As we are so weary and fed up;
We go down to the stream to bathe,
Until we feel fresh and gain more energy.
But I still feel sad and discouraged as if I
shall never make it to Muang Klaeng.
Nai Saeng pleads with me to move on.
I look at the sun which is going far down to
the horizon,
As I ask Phum and Noi to leave the pavilion.
We walk on leaving the village of Banglamung.
We move on along the shore.
Looking into the sea I see many fish traps,
Made of bamboo and encircled with nets.
Alas, how I pity these horseshoe crabs,
The wives float along with the husbands along
the shore looking for food.
They catch the wives and leave the husbands in
the water.

The waves throw them to their death.
 When the wives die, the husbands die too,
 Like my heart which has pledged to love you.
 If you die I would not wish to live.
 I shall¹ die and go with you to the land of the
 dead."

Extension 18
 (E18)

FM——— Father —— O —— Family history

At the place of destination, the poet met his relatives and went to visit his father. E18 shows how Sunthōn Phū reveals his personal history. It can be seen here that he chooses a very appropriate moment to do so. Upon seeing his father, his mind returns to his mother who lives in Bangkok. It is here that Sunthōn Phū frankly conveys that his parents have been living apart for many years. Although, the revelation of the poet's relationship with his beloved is nothing new, the revelation of the personal lives in other aspects is in fact the new thing and by doing this Sunthōn Phū has become the innovator of the personal history aspect

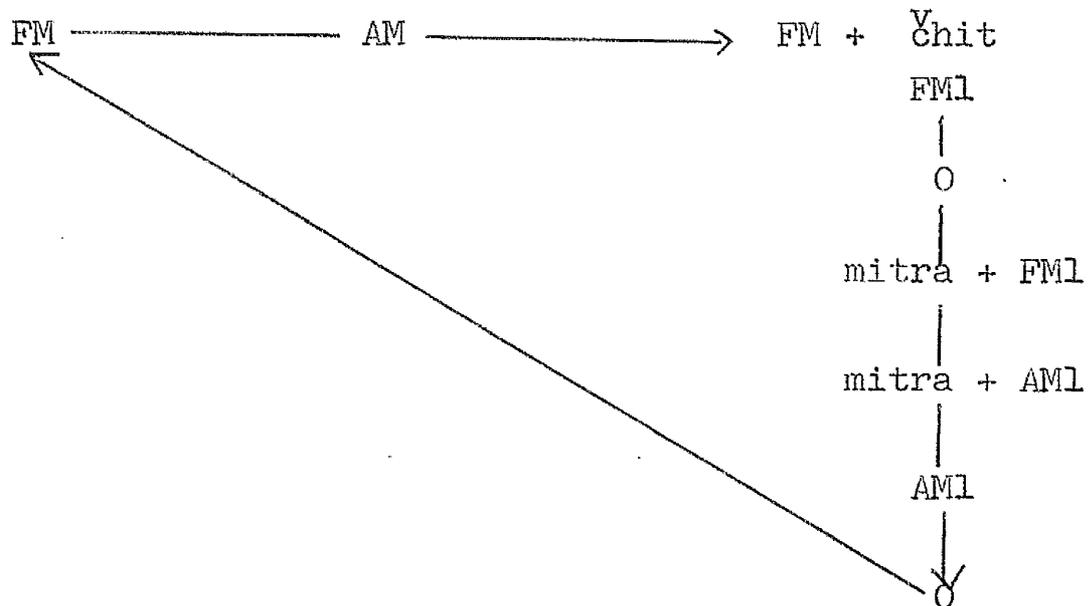
1. Ibid. pp. 96 - 97

expressed in Nirāt poems.

"I arrive at Bān Kram in the evening.
 Having met my relatives and kin,
 I go to see my father on his Kuti.
 I try not to cry but I cannot check my tears.
 I make obeisance at his feet,
 I feel empty so I cannot think,
 It is indeed the Karma of all creatures,
 That they, my parents too are separated.
 Seeing my father I feel sad as I am far
 from my mother,
 And I long to see her with anguish
 She now lives in Bangkok,
 While father is left here alone in the middle
 of nowhere."¹

Extension 19 : FM = Sū̄ "to be honest, honesty"
 (E19) FML = Čhit "heart, mind"
 AM = sutčharit "to be honest, pure"
 AML = Čhai "heart, mind"
 O = beloved

1. Ibid. p. 106.



El9 involves direct and semantic transfers. First, the FM transfers semantically to AM "sut^Vcharit" which is the synonym of su₄ FM. The AM is then transferred back to FM immediately. However, this second occurrence of the FM functions as the head of an attributive construction having "chit^V" as the attribute. "chit^V" then forms FML prompting a direct transfer occurring in the same position of another attributive construction "mita-chit^V". This new compound then provides the poet with another semantic transfer to the synonym "mita ch^Vai" resulting in AML. The poet then makes an association with his beloved by using another AML and then returns to the FM as he asks his beloved to

one direct transfer and a semantic transfer. It is interesting to note that the semantic transfer here is not a transfer from the locale (FM) itself but from the product of the second direct pun from the locale, i.e. we have $FMx \longrightarrow AMx$. The occurrence of AMx provides the poet with the idea of the function of the ghost, which is to haunt. From this idea, the poet brings in once more the FMx: the process which can be regarded as a semantic transfer in reverse ($FMx \longleftarrow AMx \longleftarrow FMx$), $FMx \longleftrightarrow AMx$. The poet then returns to his beloved O using the FMx as the link and controls his meaningful context of comparison by linking the function of AMx and the supposed activities of the beloved.

thung hāt khwāng bāng phūt khao phūt kan
 phī khīt fan ̄chai changon yū khon diao
 pen phūt chū rŭ phūt phī pīsāt lōk
 khrai chuai bōk phūt phī mā nī pradio
 ̄cha sang fāk khanithā sudā diao
 khrai keon kiao laeo ya wai kamrai leoi

"At Bāng Phūt, people are talking to one another
 As I dream all alone in wonder.

anti-Nirāt sentiment. This has led Sunthōn Phū to find sōk, the opposite term to show his protest to the unseemly mention of the name pl̄m. The name also prompts him to make use of the technique of an indirect pun in which he finds l̄m and uses it as the first position of the verbal complex of the predicate. It can be seen that this technique alone is used three times in the process. Thus we have l̄m ramkhān, l̄m rak, and l̄m ālai. Again, the selection of these three second position verbs is semantically significant as each one connotes the feeling of love-longing and during the period of separation it is not likely that the poet or in fact anyone would feel joyful or "pl̄m" as the place name implies.

"In the evening when the sun is setting,

We stop our beats,

This place is called Wat Mae Nāng Pl̄m - no
more sorrow

How can the place have such a name,

Changing my feeling of sorrow to joy and to
forget love,

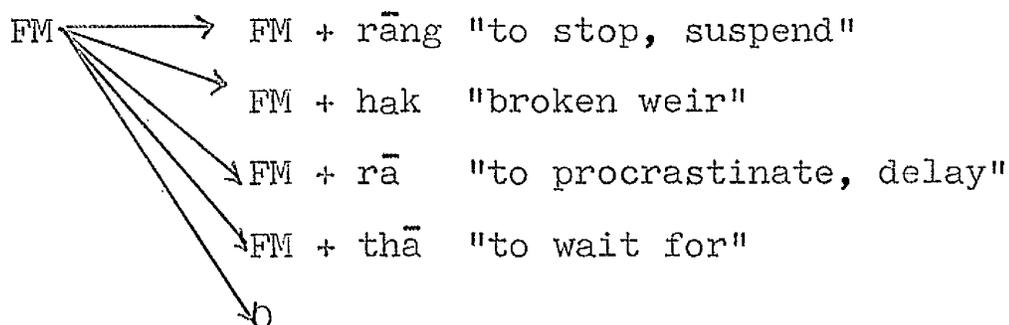
No, I dare say it can never be possible.

Here all oarsmen, high and low ranks together,

All make fire to cook their meal.

But I feel so sad and far away from home.
 I sigh deep as I eat the food,
 Trying to swallow only a handful of rice,
 It cuts my throat as if it were sharp spikes.
 When I mix it with water it makes my heart sore.
 Even salty food turns bitter for me,
 So I only eat just enough to live on.
 Then at night the dew drops down everywhere,
 As we spend the night at Wat Mae Nāng Pl̄m,
 And I can not help yearning for you."¹

Extension 22 : FM = r̄ō "to wait"
 (E22)



In E22 the poet plays with the FM by using the technique **of** direct transfer four times but each time the FM is made to form the head of a compound using four different terms as the second number of each compound. In this way the poet has produced, from the productive

1. Ibid., p.120

nature of the FM alone, four distinctive expressions to express his love melancholy.

"When we reach Khlōng Hua Rō̄ we see many logs,

As if they are put there to stop the Burmese from entering.

Broken wires remind me our love is delayed,

But I can only wait with anguish as we travel on."

Extension 23
(E23)

FM1	=	bō̄	"a well"
FM2	=	sōk	"to be sad, sorrow"
AM2	=	wiyōk	"to be sad, sorrow"
AM2a	=	mōng	"to be sad, sorrow"
FM3	=	nōng	"a swamp"
AM3	=	sa	"a pond"
AM3a	=	lahān	"a brook"

1. Ibid., p.120

to AM2 and AM2a and two direct transfers. It is interesting to record that the third direct transfer from FM2 is employed again even though the poet has already moved to the next locale FM3. Thus here, for the first time, the name of a locale is carried forward and expanded under another locale. Before the last mention of FM2, FM3 has undergone two types of transfers as well; the semantic transfers to AM3 and AM3a and a direct transfer to FM3. The poet elaborated FM2 in order to arrive at his beloved. He brings in love stimulants and in the process he uses the birds to remind him of the beloved.

"We travel on until we arrive at Tambon B̄
S̄ok.

In this time of grief I cannot bear to
mention this name.

Even though I try to do this,

But without success as I turn sadly towards
the well.

The distance we have travelled through the
jungle,

Has been two hundred and fifty Sen so far,

It is about half of our way.

I travel on in a hurry on the elephant back,

Until we have left Bṝ Sṝk far behind.

But my heart is still full of grief and
sorrow,

Until I reach Nṝng Khonthī which has ponds
and brooks.

Well covered with grass and black water.

At the edges of the swamp,

Elephant foot-prints are seen making holes
deep in the mud.

O, pity my sad heart,

Black like the water in the swamp.

Seeing water I feel sadder and I urge the
elephant on,

Moving along the dense forest.

I try to figure out the distance again,

And it is three hundred and fifty Sen.

O, the way is so far and long,

And my sorrow can never become less pain.

Looking to my right, I feel so lonely seeing
only green wood trees,

On the left I see nothing but mountains

With trees; Krai, Kruai, Kankrao, Krang,

Phayom, Yang, Ta Phayak, Phayung ang Hiang,

Khṝi, Makham, are seen arranged in order
along the way.

Doves sing together in pairs.

O, birds having partners how happy you look,
But I am suffering because I am far from you.

I see a bird perching still on the Rakam
branch,

The poor bird, he must be separated from his
female.

The bird and I are in the same predicament,
O, how I feel sad and pathetic.

Alas, the poor female bird,

You too must be longing for your male companion.

The birds remind me of you, my love,

You will be waiting for me, counting the
days in loneliness."

Extension 24
(E24)

FM1	=	khao	"mountain"
FM2	=	tok	"to fall, drop"
AM1	=	khīrī	"mountain"
FxMx2	=	taek	"to break, to be broken"

1. Ibid., pp. 124 - 125.

As a result, FM1 provides the poet with a convenient find of semantic transfers, FM2, on the other hand, possesses a rather different kind of potentiality - it is productive in compounds both as the first and second members of the two syllable compounds. This Sunthōn Phū did not fail to exploit.

"I stop at Khao Tok waiting to lead the Royal party.

I look at the Gods Protector and Creator,
Worshipping them with candles and incense,
Praying that they protect us from dangers
in the jungle.

Seeing Khao Tok, the mountains breaks falling
deep down.

When I think about this I feel I could cry,
Because I am suffering from separation from
you,

Worried and frightened I am when I arrive
at this mountain.

My heart is full of anguish and sorrow,
And I cannot cease thinking of making love to
you.

So I say goodbye to the Gods at the Mountain."¹

1. Ibid., p.126.

the area for an explanation. Later the poet makes use of the direct transfer from FM2 in order to arrive at his beloved and in the end he brings in love stimulants; trees, flowers, birds, and fruits, to express his melancholy towards his beloved.

"At Khao Khāt I ask people about its name.

An elder tells me the story,

Formerly, there was Thotsakan the ruler
of Longka,

Who abducted Sīdā carrying her in his chariot,

Running away from Rāmā with great fear.

The wheels of the chariot smashed the
mountain,

Rocks were smashed into pieces.

This name is therefore given and known from
then on.

Speaking of Khao Khāt I feel frightened.

Because I am cut off from you away in the
jungle.

I long for you, dearest Chan,

Our life is nearly broken up, like the
mountain.

I walk, on going down the slope

Along rows of mountain trees,

And I see the flower making me sadder,

Thinking more about you, beloved.

The Kaeo tree spreading its branches leaning
on the branches of the Ket tree.

Birds sing in chorus.

My tears stream down as I see them scattered
in line.

Like you and I being home together side by side.

The forest Rakam and Kālong have Kaling climbing
on them.

Rakam happens to mean sorrow, just like my
feeling.

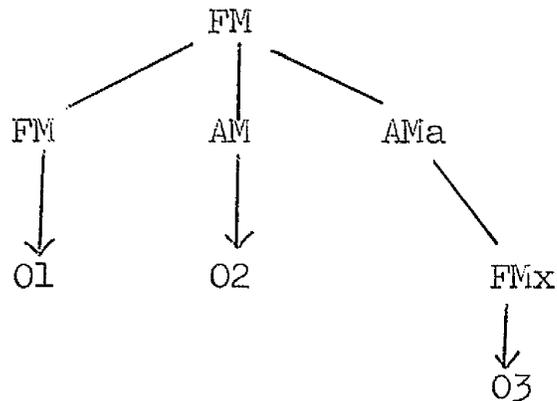
The Chan tree makes me feel delirious and insane,

Like you reminding me of heart-broken grief.

Why must the name of the tree be the same as
yours? "

Extension 26 (E26)	FM	=	Chāk	"Nipa palm"
	FMx	=	Chāk	"to be separated from"
	AM	=	phlat	"to be separated from"
	AMa	=	phrāk	"to be separated"
	O1	=	wat	"the monastery"
	O2	=	phīnōng	"relatives"
	O3	=	myang	"the city."

1. Ibid., p.131.



E26 illustrates the different techniques of pun and transfer in order to arrive at three different objects. This is like three nodes branching off from the same tree (FM).

"thụng Bāng Chāk Chāk wat phlat phīnōng
 mā mua mōng muan nā mai fā fūn
 phrō rak khrai Chai chūt mai yūt yūn
 Chūng tōng fūn Chai phrāk mā Chāk mưang"

"Arriving at Bāng Chāk I am far away from
 monastery and family relations.

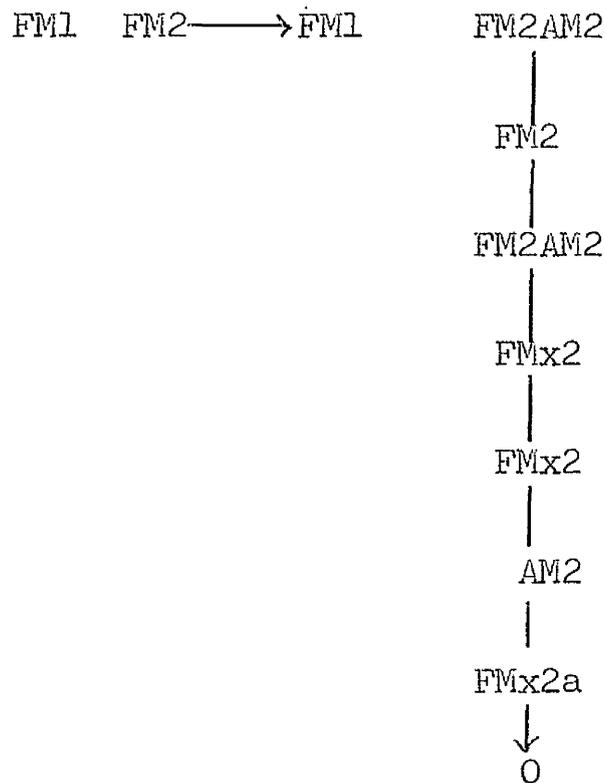
I am sad and hide my face, not going against
 her wish,

Because love for her, who is cold of heart,
 must be of short duration.

Thus I have forced myself to leave the city."¹

1. Ibid., p.138.

Extension 27 (E27)	FM1	=	sān	"spirit house"
	FM2	=	Ṽchao	"the spirit"
	AM2	=	phī	"spirit, ghost"
	FMx2	=	Ṽchao	"members of the Royal family"
	FMx2a	=	Ṽchao	"you"



E27 shows another resourceful exploitation of semantic knowledge on the part of Sunthōn Phū. Here, it can be seen that the poet had chosen a concrete object, Sān Ṽchao (spirit house) to use as the FMs instead of the name of the locale itself. Having supplied a two syllable word to provide FM1 and FM2,

the poet first transfers both syllables directly to FM1 FM2 adding a semantic transfer AM2 in the process. By so doing, the poet has brought into play the dichotomy of animistic belief, \check{C} hao (benign being) and phi (ghost), which also represents the benevolent and the malevolent spirits as believed by most villagers. Then from the FM2/AM2 dichotomy, Sunth \bar{o} n Ph \bar{u} works craftily expressing his unsympathetic view of this belief providing us with another expansion of the technique by supplying two successive direct puns (FMx2 and FMx2a) to elevate the monarchy (\check{C} hao) as the more essential object of worship before he turns finally to himself and his beloved.

"th \bar{i} thai b \bar{a} n s \bar{a} n \check{C} hao kh \bar{o} ng chao b \bar{a} n
 buang suang s \bar{a} n \check{C} hao ph \bar{i} bais \bar{i} tang
 hen khon song plong \check{C} hit anit \check{C} hang
 hai khon thang puang long long ubai
 sung kham pot mot thao w \bar{a} \check{C} hao chuai
 mai hen duai th \bar{i} cha dai dang \check{C} hai mai
 an \check{C} hao ph \bar{i} n \bar{i} th \bar{u} ng rap k \bar{o} klap klai
 th \bar{u} \check{C} hao nai thi dai ph \bar{u} ng \check{C} h \bar{u} ng \check{C} ha d \bar{i}

tae bān n̄k kh̄k nā yū pā khao
 mai mī Chao nai Ch̄ng t̄ng ph̄ng phī
 myan th̄ ph̄an f̄an long wā song dī
 mai sū phi dai laeo Chao kaeo tā"

"At the end of the village there is a
 spirit house,

Where villagers set up a Bai Srī¹ to
 propitiate the spirits and ghosts.

When I see the medium I feel the disappointment
 in the transitoriness of life.

They deceive people with an artifice,

With false lies that they can be helped by
 spirits.

I think all of it is just nonsense.

Spirits and ghosts are just a delusion.

It is the crown that we should have faith in.

And yet having to live in a remoted and uncivilised
 place such as this,

There are no royal princes around and they must
 naturally turn to the ghosts.

Like you, beloved, who think that my friend is
 better than I am,

But you are wrong, I am indeed the better man."²

-
1. Bai Srī : A food offering stand
 2. Ibid., p.280.

of the journey are first revealed and later the discomfort is expressed and supported by the cruelty of nature. All the suffering, unlike other Nirāt poets before him, is initiated and carried out by the wish of the poet himself. He was not sent into exile as Sīp̄rāt nor was he accompanying the King or a superior on an expedition or on a pilgrimage. This is a point the poet does not fail to mention in this particular passage. It confirms the basic urge in that the separated lovers will have to express their feelings of melancholy in one form or another, and that the composition of a Nirāt poem is an obvious outlet. Sunthō̄n Phū stresses here that separation is, by human nature, undesirable and once carried out, the pain caused by it is immeasurable.

"When I reach the mouth of the canal where
it separates into two streams,

The water is shallow and the sun looks pale
and grey.

On my left is Pāk Ta Khrō̄ng,

Khlō̄ng Bāng Hia is on my right.

We stop our boat at the landing.

There are many boats along the banks.

We cook the meal to eat.

O, beloved, as I see the food my tears
stream down.

How can I swallow the food with this pain
in my heart.

It would be like chewing pebbles or rice
husk to sting my throat.

I have to drink water to blend it and
swallow it.

I only eat to survive because I am so sad.

And when dusk comes,

Mosquitoes race out in darkness, too many
to slap.

We can only meet them with fire and smoke

But it becomes so stuffy that I cannot
breathe.

Alas, going away from the city without a
mosquito-net, one will have to suffer
excessively.

I shall pray until I die,

That I shall never travel if I am not asked
by a superior."

1. Ibid., p.89.

In the next nine examples (E29 to E37), the pattern of expansions can be seen in the form of variety of objects (O). Here the beloved objects are transformed into various aspects of life in which the poet wished to express through the technique of pun and transfer. These aspects must be regarded as Sunthōn Phū's innovation as they had never been used by any Nirāt poet before him. It shows clearly the development of the Nirāt genre in that the main essence of expression is no longer love-longing but other forms of nostalgia such as disillusion in life, personal history, philosophical elements, etc. have become equally important. Further development is then reinforced as illustrated in E38 to E43. In these examples, the expressions can involve any expressive element which the poet found appropriate to convey. Thus the idea of beloved object in these examples has become completely lost. The association of the place names (FMs) can now run through any process of the pun and transfer technique but only to return to the FM - the original source of expression.

Like thorns piercing through my heart,
I feel pain and distressed,

Alone, like a bird without a nest."¹

In his Nirāt poems, Sunthōn Phū often finds ways to express his disenchantment with himself and with the way life has treated him, the karma, and the society in which he lives. He often longs for the happy past, the uniformity of human lives and the certainty of things. Many of the locales in his Nirāt provide him with these thoughts, sometimes from immediate observation. Many examples of this type of expression can be found in all his Nirāt poems, especially in Nirāt Phūkhaio Thōng. When the poet travels past the Royal Palace, for instance, he thinks of the former king under whom he was happy and this develops into a personal history.² At Kret, Sunthōn Phū observes:

"Kret - this has long been a village of
the Mōns.

The women there used to pile their hair
high on their heads in a bun.

1. Ibid., p.140

2. Ibid. p.137

But now they take out hairs in a circle
round the crown and merely look like dolls.

Also they powder their faces and darken
their eyebrows with soot, just like the
Thais.

What a vulgar change to make, untrue to them

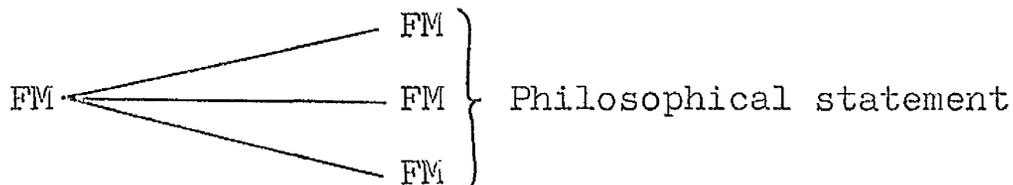
Like people who throw aside their manners
and ways.

Alas - it is true as well that women are
of many minds

I do not¹ suppose you will meet one of single
heart."

Extension 30
(E30)

FM = phūt "to speak"



"th̄ng Bāng Phūt phūt dī pen sī sak
mī khon rak rot th̄i ar̄i chit
maen phūt chua tua tai thamlai mit
cha ch̄p phit nai manut phr̄ phūt ch̄"

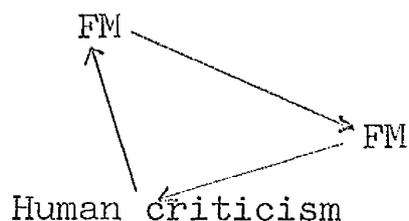
"At Bāng Phūt, it reminds me of the virtue
of speaking,

If you speak well you will be loved as

1. Ibid., p.140

Extension 32
(E32)

FM = đũa, madua "fig"



"thụng Bāng đũa ỏ madua lua pralāt
bangkoet chāt malaeng wī mī nai sai
muan khon phan wān nōk yom khom nai
upamai muan madua lua ra-ā"

"At Bāng Đũa (Fig Village) how very strange
are figs

Full of fruit flies they are inside.

Like an evil man, sweet outside but bitter
all within,

So disgusting they are, just like figs."¹

Extension 33
(E33)

FM = ngio "name of tree"

FM ————— FM - thorns
 |
 FM - Buddhist cosmology
 ↓
 Expression of disgust

1. Ibid., p.140.

"When I reach Bān ngio I see tall ngio trees,
 There are no animals living in their branches,
 Because the thorns are abundant, striking my
 vision.

I am horrified by them - these thorns.

Thorns of Ngio trees in hell are 16 inches
 long,

With spikes sticking up all over.

Anyone who commits adultery, once dead
 Must go to climb these terrifying trees.

I have lived till this day,

And have kept myself clean from this sin,

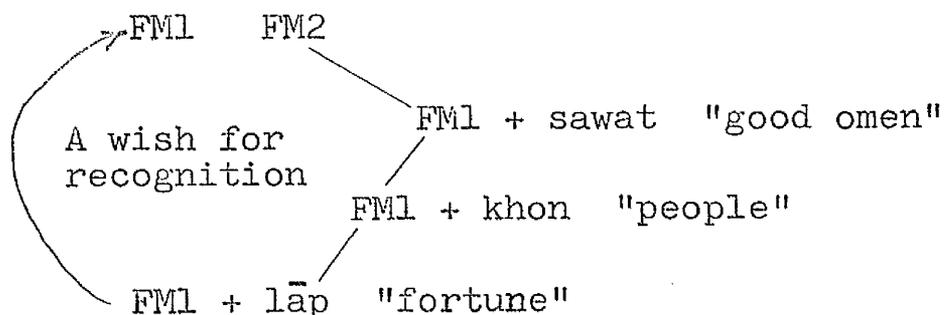
But now things are abnormally different.

Am I then to have to climb these trees
 somehow ?"¹

Extension 34
 (E34)

FM1 = kφ "island"

FM2 = koet "to give rise to"



1. Ibid., p.144.

"th̄yng k̄o koet koet sawat p̄hiphat phon
 yā koet khon titian pen sian nām
 hai koet lāp rāpriap ngiap ngiap ngām
 myan n̄yng nām k̄o koet prasoet song"

"At K̄o Koet there is a sign of good omen
 and prosperity.

Let there be no one to reproach me or
 act as an enemy.

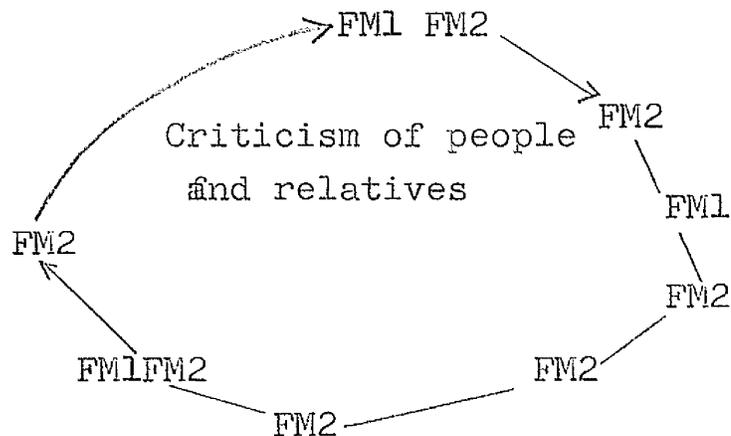
Let there be fortune and quiet peace,

Like K̄o Koet,¹ name of the island of
 excellency."

Extension 35

FM1 = k̄o "island"

FM2 = phra "a monk"



1. Ibid., p.241.

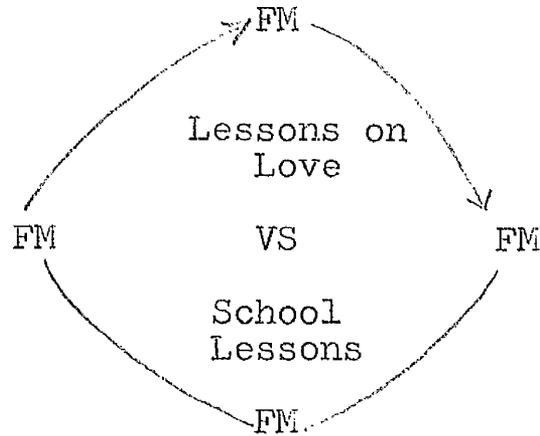
"th^hng k^o phra mai hen phra pa tae k^o
 tae ch^h phr^o ch^h phra sala long
 phra kh^ong n^ong nⁱ k^o nang m^a thang ong
 thang phra song k^o phra m^a prachum
 kh^o khun phra anukhr^o thang k^o phra
 hai poet pa tru th^ong sak s^ong khum
 khong ^Vcha mⁱ phⁱ p^a m^a chum num
 cha-^on um aep ur^a pen ^Va^hchin"

"At k^o phra I see no monks but an island,
 What a pleasing name; a monk - free from
 desire.

I am the monk myself, your holy one,
 Coming as a Buddhist monk to this Monk Island,
 Together we pray to the virtue of K^o Phra,
 To open its treasure of two wells of gold.
 Then my relatives will come together,
 To implore me and be close to me again."¹

1. Ibid., p.241.

Extension 36 : FM = rian "to study, lesson"
(E36)



"thung k̄ rian rian rak k̄ nak ok
 saen witok tem tr̄ng ^Vchiao n̄ng oei
 m̄a rian kan ^Vchon ^Vchop thung kop koei
 mai ȳk loei rian dai dang ^Vchai ^Vchong
 tae rian rak rak nak k̄ mak nai
 rak lamai mi dai chom som prasong
 ying rak m̄k ph̄k phian ying wian wong
 m̄ tae long lom luang n̄ suang s̄m"

"When I reach k̄ rian, I think of the lesson
 I had learned about love.

I feel heavy-hearted with great anxiety.

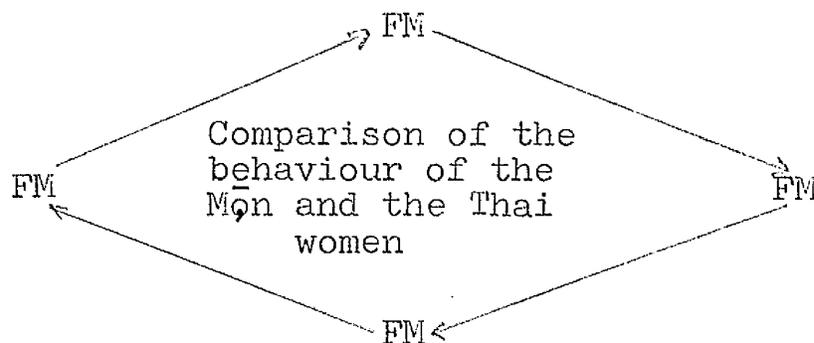
When I learned my lessons at school from
 the beginning to the end,

I could do it without any difficulty.

But the love lesson, the more you learn
the more weary you become,

And love becomes merely a fantasy."

Extension 37 : FM = khwāng "to obstruct,
to be offensive,
to interfere"



"th̄ng Bāng Khwāng pāng k̄n wā m̄n khwāng
diaw nī nāng thai lao sao sal̄n
tham yot yāng khwāng khaen saen sae nḡn
th̄ng nāng m̄n k̄ mai khwāng m̄an nāng thai"

"At Bāng Khwāng, here it was formerly known
that M̄n girls were offensive in their manner.

But now the Thai girls and the Laos are not
less in their behaviour.

They often put on airs and pout coquettishly,

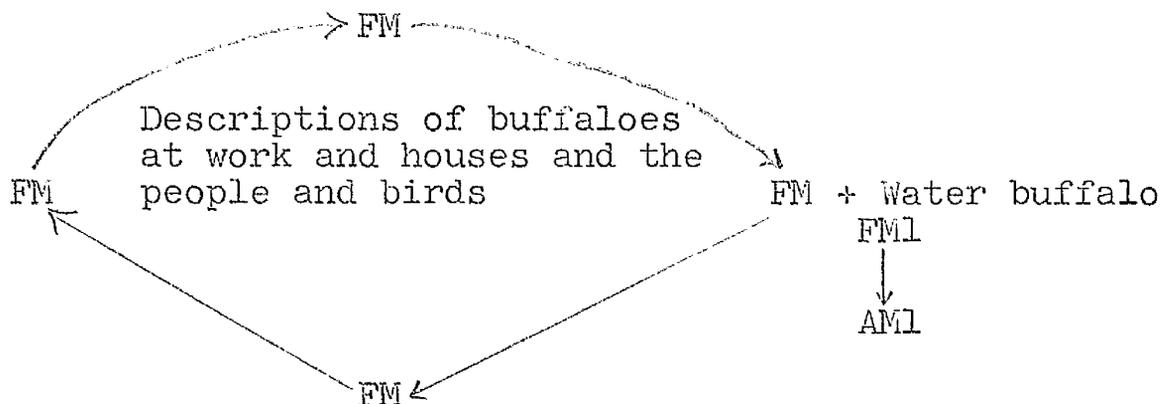
Now-a-days M̄n girls are better than the Thais."¹

1. Ibid., p.271.

Extension 38 : FM = yōng "to be pulled by
animal by means of
rope"

FML = khwai "water buffalo"

AML = kāsōn "water buffalo"



"th_ung chawāk pāk chōng ch_u khlōng yōng
pen thung lōng lip lio wio wio ^Vchai
mī ban chōng sōng fang ch_u Bāng Ch_uak
luan tom pyak poe pa swa swai
thi r_ua n_oi l_oi l_ong kh_oi khlōng pai
thī r_ua yai pōng long tōng yōung khwai
wētthanā kāsōn tōng thōn thīp
khao tī rīp reng pai nā ^Vchai hai
thung saen chāt ^Vcha mā koet kammoet kai
yā pen khwai rap ^Vchāng thī thāng yōng
tām thaeo thāng klāng yān nan bān wāng
khao plūk sāng sālā poet fā thōng

Ch̄ek Ch̄in mai thai mang pai tang rōng
 khut rōng nām lam kradōng khao yōng din
 dū thung kwāng wāng wēk mōk mēk mūt
 banphot phūt phūphā phanāsin
 fūng wihok nōk kā thiao hā kin
 tām thī thin khēt khwaen thuk daen dao

.....

Chon ̄k chōng khlōng yōng hen rōng ban"

"I have now arrived at Khlōng Yōng,

This spacious field looks emptied and lonely.

The village along each bank is called Bang
Chyak

Which is very muddy and dirty everywhere.

Small boats can get through fairly easily,

But large boats must be pulled by buffaloes.

I pity these buffaloes who have to use their
strength

And people whip them cruelly so that they
would move.

I pray if I am ever to be born again

Let me not to be born a buffalo pulling boats.

There are no houses in the middle of the Field,

So people built an open pavilion,
 And the Chinese and the Thais built huts
 To dig ditches joining the soil for irrigation.
 The field looks spacious and lonely and is
 covered with dark clouds.

There is a long range of mountains with cliffs.
 Birds have come out to look for something to
 eat,

They can be seen everywhere in this area.

.....

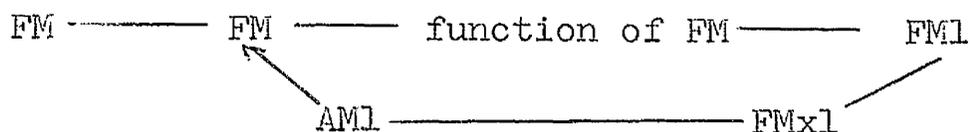
Until we get out of Khlōng Yōng we see many
 houses."

Extension 39 : FM = kwian "wagon, buffalo cart"
 (E39)

FML = thūk "to carry"

FMxl = thūk "to suffer, suffering"

AML = sōk "to suffer, sorrow"



The core of E39 is the idea arising from the
 meaning of FM and later the function of the FM as
 an object and a vehicle. This function then forms

1. Ibid., p.121.

FM1 and allows a direct pun which is further complicated by another process of semantic transfer where the poet finally returns to the original FM instead of arriving at the beloved O after having expressed love melancholy in the process.

"After the turn I reach Thā Sālā Kwian.

The banks are clean as if someone has
just cleared the grass.

I look for the wagons on both banks,

Hoping to hire them to carry us to Thā Rya.

But I have been anguished of love so heavy,

That even six or seven wagons would not
be enough to carry the load.

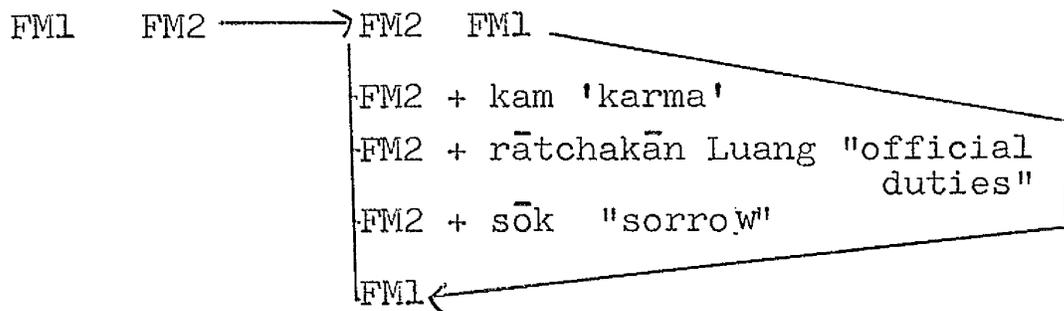
My sorrow has been a heavy burden in the
boat,

And it increases at every bend of the river."¹

Extension 40
(E40)

FM1 = Kφ "Island"

FM2 = Koet "to give rise to"



1. Ibid., p.121.

E40 illustrates Sunthōn Phū's enormous inventive power and his mastery of language. Here by employing the conventional technique of direct pun he first reverses the order of the two syllables of the locale thus changing FM1FM2 to FM2FM1. This reversal provides the poet with a very productive construction having FM2 as the core of a transitive-predicative construction. In other words, Sunthōn Phū is doing here an exercise in grammatical substitution using FM2 as the basic element which can occur with several other meaningful elements i.e. kam, rāṭchakān luang, and sōk, all of which have the same function as FM1, the element to be substituted for. Kam, rāṭchakān luang, and sōk are therefore the substitutes of FM1 in the FM2 FM1 construction.

It can be seen further that the three selected substitutes are semantically significant, especially in the context of our Nirāt poetry. They form the core elements inherent in any composition of the Nirāt poems. Kam "karma" represents the Buddhistic attitude of the poet towards separation,

rā́tchakā́n luang implies the traditional sense of duties inherent in a man as the subject of a sovereign, and finally, sṓk is an overt result a poet has to endure as he expresses it in the form of the Nirā́t poem.

"th̄yng k̄o keot keot k̄o kh̄ȳn klā́ng nām
 myan keot kam keot rā́tchakā́n luang
 Ḷch̄yng keot sṓk khat khwā́ng kh̄ȳn klā́ng suang
 Ḷcha tak tuang wai k̄o teop kwā́ k̄o din
 ramph̄yng phai tām sai krasae chiao
 ying saen pliao plao nai r̄uthai thawin

"At K̄o Keot, rises the island in the middle
 of the water.

Like the rise of Karma and this official
 journey,

Which give rise to sorrow deep in my heart.

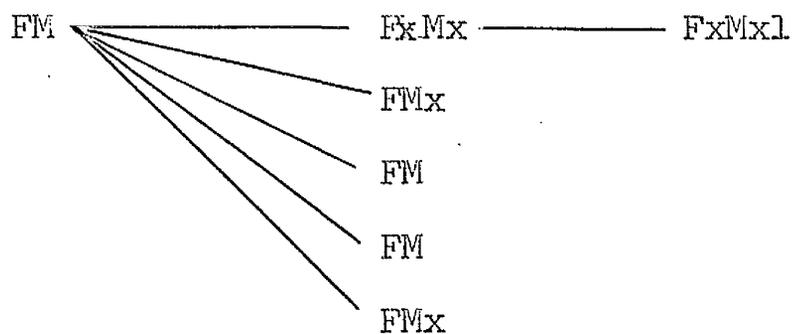
Bigger than this earthy island.

I grieve as I keep rowing along the whirling
 river,

And my sorrow and loneliness increase."¹

1. Ibid., p.117.

Extension 41 (E41)	FM	=	rakam	name of the locale, a palm with a short, stout stem
	FxMx	=	kam	"karma"
	FxMxl	=	rayam	"wicked, miserable"
	FMx	=	rakam	"sorrow"



E41 involves two indirect puns, two direct puns and two direct transfers. The model is in fact self-explanatory.

"At Bang Rakam it is karma that makes me
feel miserable.

O, when will this misfortune be over.

I grieve in my whole self until I reach
the edge of the Rakam village.

This place, Rakam, is a long way to get
through.

Alas, how could these villagers live in
such a place,

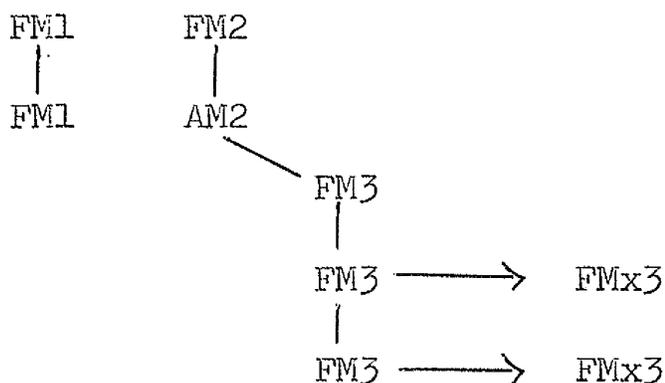
Unless they are all used to eternal sorrow."¹

1. Ibid., p.121.

"The more you feel it, the more you try,
this goes in a circle, there is no end.

And finally, love deceives you leaving
you in a ruined state of mind."¹

Extension 42 (E42)	FM1	=	kai	"chicken"
	FM2	=	tia	"to be short"
	AM2	=	tam	"to be short"
	FM3	=	rakam	"rakam tree, Zalacca wallichiana (palmae)"
	FMx3	=	rakam	"sorrow, grief"



E42 illustrates, initially, the traditional direct transfer and a semantic transfer from the two syllable word locale, i.e. FM1 FM1 and FM2 AM2. However, as AM2 comes in as an adjective modifying a noun, a banyan tree, the poet

1. Ibid., p.242.

brings in FM3 which is another kind of tree and then develops it so that he can arrive at an expression of melancholy. Two direct puns and two direct transfers are used here.

"wat kai tia mai hen kai hen sai tam
 k̄̄ rakam kaem sala kh̄n sawai
 h̄m rakam k̄ ying cham rakam ^VChai
 rakam mai myan rakam thi cham suang"

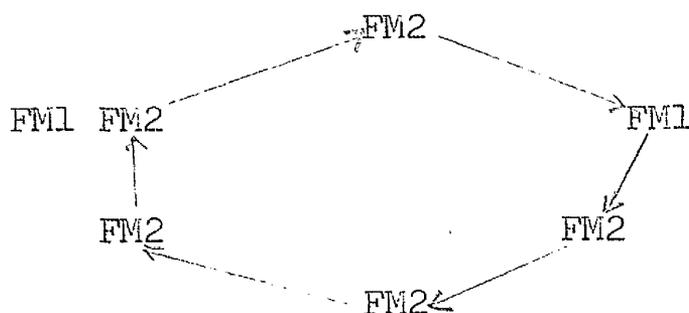
"At Wat Kai Tia, I cannot see any chicken
 but only a short banyan tree,

And many Rakam and Sala trees growing densely.

The scented smell of Rakam brings sorrow.

Oh, Rakam trees, you are¹ far different from
 the grief in my heart."

Extension 43 FM1 = tāk "to dry under the sun"
 (E43) FM2 = fā "the sky"



1. Ibid., p.271.

"^Vch^on ^ok ch^ong kh^lo^ong y^ong hen r^ong b^an
 khao riak l^an t^ak f^a kh^oi ph^a ch^un
 o phaen f^a m^a t^ak th^ung ph^ak ph^un
 n^a ^Vcha y^un yip d^uan dai m^uan ^Vchai
^Vchao n^u n^oi ph^loⁱ w^a f^a tok n^am
 khrai chang dam yok f^a kh^un m^a dai
 maen daen din sin f^a suralai
^Vcha plao ^Vchai ^Vching thang ying chai"

"As we leave Kh^lo^ong Y^ong we see houses,
 It is the village called Lan T^ak F^a.
 O, sky, how is it that you are being dried
 on Earth,
 Making me feel that I can easily reach for
 the stars.
 My son said the sky has fallen down into
 the water,
 And someone has dived down to pick it up
 and put it here.
 If there were no sky above this earth,
 All mankind will feel so empty."¹

1. Ibid., p.280.

CHAPTER VII
FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

A further development of Nirāt poetry can be found in poems involving journeys to foreign countries. Poets who composed Nirāt of this kind are often those who were members of embassies sent by the Siamese Kings to visit the courts of other sovereigns. It has been recorded through various stages of history that the Siamese rulers had many times entered into relations with other countries. According to the Thai tradition, King Rām̄khamhaeng of Sukhō̄thai once visited China and he brought back with him the secret of Chinese ceramic technology.¹ During the Ayuthayā period, King Ēkā̄thotsarot sent his envoy to Holland in 1607.² Then later, the French recorded that the court of King Louis XIV was four times visited by envoys from the Siamese King - King Nā̄rai.³ However,

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1. See Coedes, The Making of South East Asia, Op. Cit. pp. 139 - 140
 2. For a full account of the Siamese Embassies to Europe, see Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Athibai R̄wang Rāchathut Thai Pai Yurōp, in Prachum Phongsaowadān Phāk Thī Sī Sip Hā, Bangkok, 1927, pp. 1 - 34.
 3. Ibid. p.1.

no travel documents or record of any kind have ever been found as the result of these visits in spite of the fact that the Khlōng Nirāt tradition was already well established in the court of King Nārai.¹

The first known document ever recorded on a journey to a foreign country did not appear until 1781 during the reign of King Tāksin of the Thonburī period (1767 - 1782). The account of this journey was given in the form of a Klōn Nirāt poem by Phrayā Mahānuphāp, a member of the Siamese Embassy which went to renew the relationship with the court of Emperor Ch'ien Lung in China. The poem, which was meant to be entitled "Nirāt Kwāngtung" by the author, has been renamed Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang Chīn. The striking feature of this Nirāt is that the poet devotes the greater part of his poem to the description and the account of his journey while ignoring the theme of love-longing almost altogether. Only at times does he express his sadness upon leaving his city and

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1. It will be remembered that Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt and Khlōng Nirāt Nakhon Sawan are both the product of King Nārai's court poetry.
 2. Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang Chīn, Bangkok, 1918, pp. 27.

expresses his love and devotion to the King but not once does he mention his love for the beloved woman. The poet's main concern seems to be to record all events and activities of the mission together with the poet's own observation of the scenery, the manner and character of the people and their living conditions in the foreign land.

Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang Chīn has, therefore, moved further away from the conventional theme of Nirāt poetry. It has nearly become a travel account in poetry composed under the inspiration of the existing Nirāt genre. Indeed, the circumstance in which the journey was made and the political nature of the journey had made it necessary for the poet to change his emphasis to the recording of realistic elements together with events which actually took place during his important assignment.

During the Bangkok period, the impact of Western influence began to be felt from the beginning of King Rama III's reign. Printing was introduced in 1835 but only royal decrees and translations of the Bible for free distribution were printed. Sunthōn Phū

1. See Khachōn Sukphānit, Kao Raek Khōng Nangsū Phim Nai Prathēt Thai, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 8 - 11.

who composed most of his Nirāt poems during this period probably wrote them down in folding manuscript books and earned some money during his difficult days by lending them out at a charge for others to read.¹ The Royal Printing Press was founded during King Rāmā IV's reign, and circulation of six newspapers only one in Thai, had given the public much awareness of the outside world as well as arousing their reading interest.² An entirely new atmosphere was created owing to the growing influence of the West and the spread of printed materials had a profound effect on literary activities. It was under this circumstance that Nirāt London was composed by Mōm Rāchōthai, perhaps in 1859 - two years after he had completed his journey to London in 1857. The poem contains a comprehensive record of an Embassy to deliver King Rāmā IV's letter of friendship together with his gifts to Queen Victoria.³ Detailed descriptions of diplomatic activities were recorded

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1. See Damrong, Chiwit Lae Ngān Khōng Sunthōn Phū, Op. Cit.
 2. Khachōn Sukphanit, Op. Cit., p.11
 3. The same author had written the Record of the Siamese Embassy to England in prose. His Nirāt can be considered as a companion volume to the prose work. See Frachum Phongsāwadān Phāk Sī Sip Hā, Op. Cit.

together with the poet's observation of many aspects of England during that period. M̄m Rāchōthai's observation of the English scenery, scientific progress, customs and manners etc. serve in the Nirāt poem much as do the coloured photographs, slides, and films of travellers today who use them to give immediacy to their lectures and fix scenes which touched their imaginations during their travels.

Like Phrayā Mahānuphāp, M̄m Rāchōthai composed his Nirāt poem in the form of a semi-travel account plus some love-longing passages especially when he was back in the hotel and was alone. While Phrayā Mahānuphāp recorded the merchant ships at the Chinese ports of Macao and Canton, M̄m Rāchōthai gave a description of Portsmouth, and later Dover, together with his fascination with English material progress such as railways, ships, jewels. As members of important missions, both authors took a special interest in recording events and activities concerning their official contacts with their respective hosts. Phrayā Mahānuphāp reported his party's first contact with the Chinese officials in Macao where they were intercepted and followed by a warship of thirty soldiers. And in Canton where they were invited to the

reception dinner, long descriptions of the Chinese officials, their guards, the buildings, the social greetings, the feast and the speech by the head of the Chinese officials were given. Mom Rāchōthai, on the other hand, took special care in describing the English Sovereign, her costumes, the court manners and functions, and Windsor Castle where his party was invited to stay for four nights.

A year later in 1859, King Rāmā IV sent Phra Rāthasombat (Kārawēk Ratanakun) to look for certain jewels in Calcutta. Phra Rāthasombat composed a Nirāt poem to record the account of his successful journey. His poem is called "Nirāt Kṇ Kaeo Kālakatā!"¹

Then in 1885, King Rāmā V sent an army to suppress the Hṇ rebellion in the Northern states including Luang Phrabāng in Laos. One of the army officers, captain Luang Thuayhānraksā (Pheom) composed a Nirāt poem called Nirāt Mṇang Luang Phrabāng. It is a long poem of historical importance because it gives a detailed account of the movements and activities of the army to

1. Klṇ Nirāt Kṇ Kaeo Kālakatā, Wachirayān Library, Bangkok, 1920, pp. 51.

the North passing Nakhōnsawan, Nān, then marched up to Luang Phrabāng. Apart from its sporadic love-longing passages together with scenic and natural descriptions, the author carefully recorded all the contacts of his commander, Chao Phrayā Surasak Montri (Cheom Saengchūtō), with various heads of states in the North. Reports on the situations, the conditions of the area, the plight of the local people, and the actual fighting were given in great detail. This ordeal took as long as twenty-one months before the author could return to Bangkok.¹

In connection with the Hō rebellion, another Nirāt poem was composed two years later in 1887. This time Nai Waeo composed Nirāt Tankia - a Journey to Tonkin - The author of this poem was in a similar position to Phrayā Mahānuphāp and Mom Rāchōthai's in that he served

1. Apart from Nirāt Luang Phrabāng, this author had also composed "Raingān Prāp Ngiao", A Report on the suppression of the Ngiao rebellion, which took place in Northern Thailand in 1902. This report in Klōn poetry has now been regarded as a Nirāt poem and has been renamed "Nirāt Prāp Ngiao Monthon Phāyap". Both Nirāt poems by this author have been compiled by Nathawut Suthi Songkhram. See Chīwit Lae Ngān Wanakam Khōng Nai Rōi Ēk Luang Thuaihan Raksa, Bangkok, 1972.

as a secretary to a party of five representatives sent from Bangkok by King Rāmā V to observe the fighting between the French in Indo-China and the Hō rebels.¹ Nai Waeo recorded the journey arranged by the French and his party's official contacts with them while travelling in that area. Detailed descriptions of Saigon, Haiphong and Hanoi were also given. And when the journey finally reached the front line, the fighting was reported. It was only when he received letters from home that Nai Waeo expressed his love melancholy.

In these Nirāt poems, the technique of pun and transfer is found only when the poets were still within the boundary of the Thai Kingdom. This is obvious enough since names of the locales became meaningless to them as the journey reached foreign places and the FM ceased to be useful. On the other hand, foreign elements such as scenery, people and their daily activities, etc. became more interesting and when seen for the first time aroused their curiosity. The poets cannot help describing these attractive foreign

1. Luang Nōranithi Banchākit, Nirāt Tangkia, Bangkok, 1961.

elements and recording them in their poems for their superiors and friends, as well as the public, thus serving not only as reports of their accomplishments, but also as public information.¹

We can now look into the detailed accounts of journeys to foreign countries as recorded in the form of semi-travelogues in three Nirāt poems; Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Muang Chīn, Nirāt London, and Nirāt Tangkia in order that we can see the emergence of new elements in Nirāt poetry as the conventional theme of love-longing begins to disappear.

Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Muang Chīn

Even though, the poet prayed to the three gems upon his arrival at the market, the first place he mentioned in the poem, the King emerged as the central figure of his worship and inspiration. His reference to Buddhism is given in connection with the King's virtue and devotion to Buddhism, especially his practice of meditation. Although he paid homage to the spirit of the ocean and

1. Nirāt London marks the first printing of a literary work in Thai in which the author retains copyright but sold the printing right to the press. See Damrong in Prachum Phongsawadan Phak Si Sip Ha, Op. Cit. pp. 106.

the spirit of a spirit house, he only did these while he was passing them. Whenever he was in difficulty he prayed and called for protection from the King's virtue. This he did twice; once when he had seasickness and again when his ship was hit by a heavy storm at Khao Nai Yuan.

The poem opens with the praise of the King's virtue and glory followed by the purpose of the journey. The King wished to renew friendly relations with the court of China and it was therefore necessary to send an Embassy there as there had been no contact between the two countries for twenty years. It was for this reason that the journey had taken place. The poet then gave descriptions of the eleven ships engaged in the journey and the gifts which were to be presented to the Chinese Emperor. The date of departure was then given. Then follows the main part of the poem which includes the voyage to Kwangtung by sea. At this point it can be seen that the technique and form of the Nirāt convention is still evident as the poet mentioned names of the locales along the route. Within the border of his own country, he gave descriptions of

the mountains and the islands together with human activities on board ship. Excitement and fear when hit by a storm was described. The poet carefully noted the number of days spent during each portion of the journey giving his estimate of the distance between certain locales and his home. The technique of transfer was used only once at Kō Man where "Man" "sweet potatoes" is used as the FM for a direct transfer. No attempt was made to associate the FM with O, however. At other locales, the poet tried to give the legends and the etymology of the names of mountains together with natural and scenic descriptions. As the ship entered the foreign regions the descriptions of the journey, natural phenomena and human activities were much more emphasized. The manners and customs of different peoples were observed and recorded sometimes in detail. The whole poem may be best conceived by studying its content which can be listed as follows:

1. Introduction

Invocation - the King.
 The purpose of composition.
 The purpose of the journey.
 History behind the journey.
 The royal gifts.
 The royal letter to the Emperor.
 The ships which take part in the journey.
 The date of departure.

2. The Journey

Talāt Liao	Melancholy - home, beloved, and city Pray to the three Gems.
Pāk Nām	Time of day. Anchor there for two days because of the low tide.
Khōt Lang Tao	Activities on board ships. Natural phenomena - the waves and the storm. Sea-sickness and its effect. Pray to the King. Reference to the King's practice of analytical meditation. The effectiveness of his prayers.

Sām R̄oi Ȳōt	Number of days spent. Pays homage to the spirit. Number of days spent on the journey before reaching the next locale.
Mahā Samut Thai (in the middle of the ocean)	Pray to the spirit of the water.
K̄o Khwāng	Time of day - evening. Scenic description.
K̄o Man	Direct transfer.
Khao Khanun	Number of days spent. Foreign name of the locale.
Khao Lōm Kai	Pay homage to the spirit of the mountain.
Myang Pāsak	At the river mouth. Human daily activities. The Vietnamese boats.
Pāk Nām Yuan	Thought of the war.
Khao Chāng Khām	Number of days spent. Legend of the mountain.
Khao Narai	Description of the mountain. Legend of the mountain. Description of the people paying homage to the god of the mountain.

Khao (a mountain)

Number of days spent.

Description of the mountain.

Walo

Description of the passage way to Kwangtung.

Natural phenomena - the fog.

Khao nai Yuan (a mountain in Vietnam)

Description of the mountain.

Direction of the ships.

Natural phenomena - the waves

- the rain

Prayed to the King.

The effectiveness of the prayer.

Description of the difficulty of the journey.

Description of the sea.

The fish and the whale.

Pay homage to the god of the sea.

Khao Khēt Prathēt Chīn (a mountain in China)

Legend of the mountain

3. Destination

Thawān Chan Nōk (the outer gate)

Land mark of the passage to Canton.

Entering the gate.

Kṓ Mṓ Kao (Macao)

Description of the Westerners and their boats.

Description of the walls.

Description of the trading ships.

Description of mountains and trees.

Number of days spent on the whole journey.

Estimated distance from home.

Thawān Phayakkhī (The Tiger Gate)

Description of the Gate.

The forts and the cannons.

The guards.

4. The Mission4.1. First contact with the Chinese officials

Names of Siamese officials and the purpose of their visit given to the Chinese officials.

Instruction to proceed given by Chinese.

Protection given by a warship of 30 soldiers.

Scenic description.

Description of the weather, the forest, the people, buildings and architecture, gardens, vegetables, rice fields, and the woods.

4.2. On arriving at the city of Canton.

Description of the boats.

Description of the Buildings.

Geographical description of the city.

The war towers.

Warships.

Soldiers and their weapons.

The guards.

The people.

Women - prostitutes.

Dresses worn by the women.

Compare their manners with the Thais.

Instruction from a superior not to hire
prostitutes.

4.3. The meeting with the Chinese officials

Officials came to take the royal letter.

The Siamese officials move to stay in their
quarters provided by the Chinese.

Travel on a palanquin.

Description of human activities.

Scenic description.

The market and the goods.

Description of the Chinese women.

Description of the women wrapping their
feet.

The way the women walk.

Women are dependent on men.

The beggars.

The soldiers.

4.4. Tambon Kong Kuan Kao

The Embassy quarters provided by the Chinese.

The location of the quarter - outside Canton.

Royal letters and gifts are kept there.

List of gifts are presented to the Chinese officials.

Officials go to Peking to inform the Emperor.

Chinese officials return within 27 days.

The Emperor's letter to the Siamese Ambassador.

Audience is granted to top Siamese officials.

Only selected gifts are accepted.

Elephants are acceptable gifts.

Unacceptable gifts must be sold in Canton.

The Emperor gives many gifts to be taken to the Siamese King.

The Embassy is invited to the Governor's residence.

They must drink the water of allegiance.

Date stated.

Description of the dresses of the Siamese officials for this occasion.

4.5. The Governor's residence

Description of the guards.

Description of the residence.

Description of the building, the architecture.

The paintings.

Description of the Social greetings of the Chinese.

Description of the feast.

The Governor's speech.

Return to the Embassy quarter.

4.6. Top officials going to Peking

The Chinese officials come to take the royal letter and the gifts.

Siamese diplomats and envoy start their journey to Peking.

Date stated: Friday, 3rd day of the waxing moon, 12th month.

4.7. Other Siamese officials are left behind in Canton

Try to sell the rejected gifts.

They sold every item of the gifts.

Keep record of the money received.

Get ready to return home.

Happiness and excitement of the author.

5. Conclusion

Their safety is the result of the King's virtue and merit.

Comment on certain unfavorable incidents during his stay in Canton.

Comment on spending of the Royal money.

Praise the King's virtue.

Long live the King.

Nirāt London

The journey to London by the Thai Embassy took place in 1857 - two years after the successful visit of Sir John Bowring who came to Thailand as the first envoy from the English court. During Sir John's visit, King Rāmā IV had expressed his wish to send an Embassy to deliver his letter of friendship to Queen Victoria in London. When this was agreed, the Queen dispatched a steamer, "Caradoc", to fetch the Thais at the Gulf of Thailand. The poet, Mqm Rāchōthai, served as an interpreter and secretary to the embassy of eight members which was headed by Phrayā Montrī

Suriyawong.

The author begins his poem by giving a name to his Nirāt. It was to be entitled "Nirāt R̄yāng M̄yāng Lōṅṅ". Then he gives the date of departure together with the specific assignment which the King had given to him and the others. Names, titles and responsibilities of the members of the Embassy are also given. Upon leaving his beloved, the poet writes to state his loyalty and devotion to the sovereign and emphasizes that it is his duty to serve him - an obligation which a man must choose over his own beloved and family.

"If it is not for this important duty,
I shall never make a journey, far away from
you.
But to show my gratitude to the King, beloved,
I volunteer to the lord."¹

Before leaving Bangkok, the Embassy had an audience with the King. They received the royal letter which they were to take with them. The King gave them his blessings

1. Ibid., p.14.

and they left for the journey. They left Bangkok by rowing boats to Samutprākān at the mouth of the Chao Phrayā River where they transferred to a Thai steam ship which took them to the "Caradoc". Upon their arrival, the Embassy was received with pomp and circumstance.

"The captain has ordered his crewmen,
 To wait for our arrival with attention.
 We are saluted with gunfire
 So loud that the ship vibrates.
 A nineteen gun salute in all."¹

During the first part of the journey - from the Gulf of Siam to Singapore, Mōm Rāchōthai remains faithful to the Nirāt convention. He mentions fifteen place names five of which he uses as FMs for the purpose of puns and transfers. At places where he does not make use of the technique of pun and transfer, he gives scenic descriptions, etymology of the place names, and activities of people either

1. Ibid., p.113.

on board ship or those he sees along the way.

However, from Singapore on, when names of the locales are no longer useful as FMs, and when objects, peoples, and geographical aspects observed at these places, become alien to the poet's experience, he changes his emphasis. Instead, he describes in a direct way what he has seen, thought, and heard. Sometimes, given the right occasion, he lets his mind soar and his pen paint.

When he arrives in Java, for instance, the poet expects to see beautiful people as described in the wellknown epic-romance Inao. Failing to see that, the poet wrote:

"There are so many boat^f with noises of people, ^
 Buying and selling goods of all kinds.
 Various kinds of fruit are orderly laid down,
 Together with fish and vegetables.
 Many sailors go around buying them,
 To keep as their stock at sea.
 I am surprised to see that women here are not
 pretty.
 Their faces look rather distorted in shape,
 with long ears.
 So unlike the delicately beautiful Butsabā,

And Chintalā, from whom Inao has to suffer,
Long tormented separation."¹

Upon arriving at the Red Sea, the poet gave his
observation of the climate,

"This area is different from others.

Unpleasant because of the strong burning rays
of the sun.

Everywhere along the Red Sea, there is drought.

Rains come only once in six years.

There are neither trees nor grass in sight,
But full of sand it is, burnt by the sun."²

Then at Aden, the poet gives a description of
the natives. He wrote:

"The natives are black and fierce looking,
With curly and entangled hair.

Whenever they see people going outside the
gate,

They rush to them and they mob them,

And they steal their clothes and belongings.

They even kill people for this.

1. Ibid., pp. 121 - 122.

2. Ibid., pp. 125.

The English have tried to keep order,
The natives are afraid of suppression and
they run away,
Like mice running away from cats - into the
jungle.
When things have calmed down they return,
To harass and steal as before."¹

When the Embassy finally arrived at Portsmouth,
the poet gives the description of that port as he records
the date and time of arrival. He also describes the
reception given to the Thai Embassy by the English
officials. On the next day, they were taken to London
by train. Upon arriving in London, the poet wrote
of the reception:

"We arrive in London in the afternoon by train.
There are many people waiting to greet us.
The guards hold swords in their hands,
They ride horses, all black horses.
These beautiful and energetic horses are,
Of thirty-two pairs all standing in rows.
And five magnificent carriages,

1. Ibid., p.124.

Are pulled by tall and dignified horses.
 They stay in line waiting to welcome us.
 As we are taken by carriages,
 The sixty-four horse-guards follow us along in
 good order.
 The guards wear red jackets looking very smart.
 Their hats are beautifully decorated with
 feathers."¹

The Embassy was taken to Claridges Hotel where they stayed with great warmth and comfort. Mōm Rāchōthai wrote of the hotel with admiration.

"It is a grand building,
 A well ornamented four-storey building.
 Truly grand and comfortable to live in.
 The horse-guards turn to bow to us.
 The doorman opens the door for us.
 The Hotel owner comes to greet us,
 And invites us to see our quarters.
 There are all kinds of furniture,
 Tables, chairs, beds, sofas,

1. Ibid., p.140.

Mattresses and pillows together, enough
for all of us.

They look after us so well in every way.

Servants are many, they work with great
efficiency.

What we need and ask for, we always get.

These people are never lazy, but they work
hard."

Mr. Fowle from the Foreign Office was assigned to be their co-ordinator all through the period of their stay. An itinerary was therefore well planned for them. At the first stage of their stay, before they had an audience with the Queen, Mr. Fowle had arranged for them to visit various places of interest in London. They were taken to see the zoo, a ship, an under-water tunnel. At night-time they were entertained by the Lord Mayor of London and sometimes, they were taken to see the circus and other performances. The poet gives his description of one of the performances:

"They wear magnificent costumes as they perform,
The story of a revolt in India.

1. Ibid., p.140.

The Indians assault the English soldiers
fiercely,

Because they hate their officers,

Who tyrannize and intimidate them - the coloured
Indians.

So much that they are revengeful at their
superiors.

The Indians gather their men and they come
to attack the English,

Who are fast asleep and are caught unaware.

The English lose ground and flee for their lives.

Men, women, and children are slaughtered and
killed.

But there is a courageous Governor of Bengal,

Whose name and bravery in fighting is known to
all,

And who is as fierce as a tiger,

Raises an army by land and water.

The Indians are defeated, and the English

Pursue their enemy chopping their heads and
cutting their bodies,

And shoot them down just like flies.

The audience are pleased, indeed

To see their enemy's defeat.

They clap their hands concertedly and loudly

in approval."¹

Mom Rāchōthai is often fascinated by the material progress in England. When the Embassy was taken to visit a ship, he reports:

"In the morning, Mr. Fowle takes us to see a huge ship,

Of one hundred and six wā² in length - an extraordinary ship.

I am amazed to see that the whole ship is built with iron,

And can still float easily as if it has no weight.

What a precious thing for the country to have.

Engines are placed at both sides of the rear.

There are rooms and living quarters inside this ship,

Painted in gold and other colours showing patterns and variety.

There is a dark tunnel running from the rear to the front of the ship.

And a big room of one Sen³ long.

1. Ibid., p.142.

2. Wā is an old Siamese unit of measurement. One wā is about 2 yards long.

3. One Sen is twenty wā - i.e. 40 yards long.

This room is used as the market - which
is full of people.

They set up stands and shops to sell goods of
all sorts.

The deck has four levels with many rooms in them.

There is a wide open space to let the sun through.

Six-mast poles are seen with masts and five
smoke-stacks.

This ship is never shaken when hit by waves,
Just like a house."¹

And at a hospital he wrote:

"They collect bones of both men and women.

What an extraordinary thing to do ?

There are even bones of ancient people,

Standing and looking like Prēta.²

Alas, what a sorrowful sight to see.

From the head down to the feet, it is about
eight sōk³ long.

There are bumps on the skull, some are very big.

The eyes are round, large, and hollow.

-
1. Nirāt London, Op. Cit., p.147
 2. Preta is a departed spirit in a state of punishment and suffering on account of sins committed in a former existence as mentioned in the Traiphumikhāthāe.
 3. Eight sōk is approximately 4 yards long.

The mouth can still be opened with teeth inside.

There are also animal bones arranged into animal shapes.

How unpleasant it is to see nothing but ghosts.

I am afraid they might haunt me.

They connect the bones with wires making them look gangling."¹

The presentation of the Thai Embassy to the Queen was delayed because of the death of the Duchess de Nemours. However, soon after the Duchess' funeral the Queen welcomed them in state at Windsor Castle on 20th November, 1857. Here, Mom Rāchōthai recorded the audience with the Queen of the Thai Embassy in detail. Upon arriving at the Castle, he wrote:

"Everywhere looks so orderly and clean.

This place is similar to the Monthian² in our country.

It is called Windsor,

The Queen stays here during the winter.

Because, in the Castle, no matter how strong blows the cold wind,

It will not reach inside the Castle.

-
1. Nirāt London, Op. Cit. p.163
 2. Sanskrit Mandara : an edifice.

Every hole is blocked with glass."¹

And when the Embassy had its first audience with the Queen, the poet recorded:

"We are led by a General into the Throne Hall,
Where the door springs wide open as we arrive.

Guards stand on the left and on the right at
full attention.

They wear beautifully embroidered uniforms,
Holding long-handle axes with the Krit²edges
in their hands,

Guarding every door.

The Ambassador places both Royal letters³ on
the golden tray.

Then, as we enter the third door, we prostrate
ourselves,

And crawl in slowly one after another.

^vChao Khum, our first Ambassador, leads the party

With the tray in his hands he moves forward
slowly.

1. Ibid., p.155.
2. Krit : probably halberds which the poet compares, not quite accurately with the Malay Krit, well-known in Bangkok.
3. One letter from King Rāmā IV and another letter from Phra Pinklao, the deputy King.

The other seven then prostrate and make
obeisance three times,

Before we move crawling in first by the
second Ambassador - Phra Nai.

Then Khun Monthian follows, then I,

And then the others, one after another."¹

The Queen also invited her Siamese guests to attend several Royal occasions such as an opening of the Parliament, a Royal Wedding at Westminster Abbey,² and a ballet. These occasions are recorded in detail.

During the four months stay in England, an arrangement was also made for members of the Embassy to make an observation tour outside London. They travelled by train to visit Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield. Here again, Mom Rāchōthai recorded his observation gained from this journey. On his way to Birmingham, the poet described what he saw from his train window.

"I see wheat fields along both sides of the route,
And also corn fields and meadows.

1. Nirāt London, Op. Cit., p.156.

2. This was the wedding of the Queen's eldest daughter, The Princess Royal to Prince William of Prussia in January 1858.

People grow these plants and they sell them expensively.

When winter comes these plants do not grow.

Their animals must eat straw and hay.

Food becomes more expensive for the people all over the country.

But in the summer, grass grows again and everything becomes green and beautiful.

People then work in their gardens growing vegetables, And all sorts of fruit and flowers.

Buildings and houses are made of brick.

They cut and dig the mountain when it obstructs the rails.

And they make tunnels straight through it.

They are so skillful, these people,

Working with rocks just like they do with sand.

Some tunnels are as long as two hundred sen.¹

Inside the tunnels it is dark and frightening,

As I can see nothing.

There are many other shorter tunnels - too many to describe.

At one place, they built a bridge with a flowing stream on it.

1. Two hundred sen is about 8,000 yards long.

And where boats can travel on this funny bridge,
With the train tracks underneath.

This is really clever, the construction so well
conceived.

At some places, there are canals with two levels,
With flowing water in both of them,

And where boats can run on both levels."¹

Then at Liverpool, the poet gives a description of the
drydocks:

"Some have roofs but some are without.

Roofs are made of glass to receive the sunlight
inside.

Pillars, beams, and ridges of the roofs are made
of iron,

They use no wood at all.

The walls are made of stone to prevent the soil
from falling

When they have put a ship inside they close the
door tight,

Making it look as if the ship is put in a container.

Then they pump out the water.

Until it is dry and we see the ship sitting on
the cushions firmly."²

1. Nirāt London, Op. Cit., p.169

2. Ibid., p.171.

Upon their return to London, they were taken to visit many other places of interest. Among these excursions, a cruise along the Thames left some impression on the poet as he wrote:

"This river runs through the middle of the capital city.

There are all kinds of boats running up and down the river.

This reminds me of my home - its similarity with the Chao Phrayā.

But the Thames has eight bridges across it.

All are strongly constructed looking firm and secure.

Some bridges are made of stone, some of iron, Very heavy and firm.

There are low bridges where ships with mast poles cannot pass,

And they have to anchor outside.

Some parts of the river are wide and are full of boats making many noises.

Some parts are of the same width as the Chao Phrayā,

But some parts are narrower than our Thai river.

The river banks are neat and clean on both sides.

People construct stone and iron levées.

But they use wood if they have less money.

Each house is responsible for its own ground in constructing the levée.

There are many boats in the river, perhaps ten thousand in number.

Some are with sails, some have engines."¹

In order to summarize his observation of London and England in general, the poet provides a special section which he sums up important aspects he had seen for the information of his readers. The purpose of composing this Nirāt poem, it should be remembered, is for publication and therefore, it is probably the first time that a Nirāt poet consciously aimed to reach the reading public who, at that time were eager to read and learn about new places and the inventions of the West. Mōm Rāchōthai tried to achieve his aim by including the following aspects he saw in London and described them to his readers.

1. Geography of the British Isles.
2. Description of London.
3. Churches, forts, and walls.
4. Theatres and other forms of entertainment.
5. Hospitals.
6. Prisons.

1. Ibid., p.186.

7. Roads.
8. Electricity and gas.
9. The city, buildings and other construction materials.
10. Shops and goods.
11. The River Thames.
12. Means of transportation. Boats, carriages and trains.
13. The parks.
14. Sports of the rich - hunting.
15. The hotels.

Nirāt Tangkia

This is another Nirāt poem of a political nature. Like Phrayā Mahānuphāp and Mōm Rāchōthai before him, Nai Waeo devotes the larger part of his poem to the recording of important events which are relevant to his assignment. His Minister, Prince Thēwawong Warōpakōn, praised the author, who was his inferior, by writing in Khlōng saying:

"It is a praiseworthy poem,

Very pleasing and satisfying.

It contains necessary substance for official benefit.

Certainly, this is a poem worth preserving."¹

1 Nirāt Tangkia, Op. Cit., preface.

The poet spent seven days travelling from Bangkok to Saigon by sea along the Thai and Cambodian coast line. This first seven days form the first part of the journey. The majority of locales mentioned are Thai names and thus the poet was able to make use of these names as FMs for transferring and punning. This he attempted ten times - making use of eight direct transfers and two semantic transfers to express his love-longing. Then when he arrived in Saigon, where he stayed for 13 days, his motif suddenly changed. The poet became obsessed with the recording of his diplomatic activities with the French and Vietnamese officials. For example, the poet recorded that the Governor came to meet them at their hotel in the morning and took them to have an official discussion using English as their working language. Then on the next day they were invited to a concert in a palace. On the next morning they took a short trip to the Governor's palace by train where they were entertained. They dined with a Yuan general and a nobleman. Like M^om Rāchōthai, the poet gave descriptions of his excursions and in the process he recorded human activities, sceneries, customs and manners of the people -

the French, the Chinese, and the Yuan. In describing a suburban area near Saigon, the poet wrote:

"There are some Europeans living here.

They have built a nice smooth road in front of their houses,

And have grown coconut trees along both sides.

Many motor boats stand at the docks,

Loading goods to sell in Cambodia.

It only takes one day to go to Phnom Penh by boat."

And later when the poet took the train to a small town outside Saigon he wrote:

"There are about 80,000 Chinese living here.

It is a small town but full of Chinese.

I see more of them walking on the street than the Yuan."²

From here on, the poet seems to give a routine report on his activities and the journey. The Thai representatives stopped in Haiphong and travelled to Hanoi along the Red river. During his stay in Hanoi, the poet gave similar descriptions of human activities, shops, gambling dens, houses, and etc. as he did while staying in Saigon. However,

1. Ibid., p.18.

2. Ibid., p.19.

the poet gave a brief historical account of how Tonkin was taken by the French, and finally he concluded:

"The French have taken over all taxes and revenues.

Claiming that they are helping the Yuan's administration.

But they have governed in whatever way they please,

The natives lost their ranks and power,

And wealth as well as resources to the Government,

Who collect money to feed their men and soldiers."¹

The Thai representatives received medals from the French officials in Hanoi before they leave for their actual observation of the fighting in Lao Cai and Lai Chau. The poet ends his visit to Hanoi with the following French diplomatic words:

"Then he (the Governor) speaks,

Saying that Siam and Annam shall remain friendly towards each other.

Long into the future and forever."²

The journey continued on along the Red river. This part of the journey was rather difficult as the party had to go through the jungle, and after Lao Cai, they had to travel on foot. The poet reported more on the condition

1. Ibid., p.48.

2. Ibid., p.49.

and the difficulty which the party had to face during their journey. He also gave descriptions of the scenery and objects he saw along the route. When they stopped at various military camps to spend the nights, descriptions of conditions of each camp was given sometimes in vivid details. At times the poet reported on the past fighting which he had heard and which had taken place at or near the military camp in which he was staying. At Bac Tan camp, for instance, he related:

"This camp used to be occupied by the H^o,
Who were brutal but brave as soldiers.
And when the French advanced their army to Lai Cao,
The H^o dug trap-holes and trenches,
Using spades to make ditches - ready for the French.
They scattered themselves along the creeks,
And they built wooden forts to obstruct the bullets.
I count these forts - there are thirteen of them,
They are strong forts - very difficult to destroy.
They hope to defeat the French army,
By manning a lot of brave men.
As for the French, they raised their army,
Getting there in the morning, still very early,

And when it was still very foggy.
When they arrived at the edges of the creeks,
They could not see very well,
So they blew their trumpets to signal,
And stop there for a rest.
As soon as the H \bar{q} heard the trumpet,
They fired all their guns making tremendous noise,
They were not afraid of the French at all.
The French was very angry,
And they positioned their cannons,
To fire at the front of the H \bar{q} line.
Then they sent their commandos across the stream,
Going to the rear of the H \bar{q} behind the line.
The French succeeded in doing this,
They climbed up from the water to shoot down the H \bar{q} ,
And they moved in to attack and surrounded them.
This was too much for the H \bar{q} ,
They became frightened and fled for their lives,
Running into the mountains, deserting Bac Tan."¹

1. Ibid., pp. 76 - 77.

Near Lao Cai, the Thai representatives were taken to stay in a mixed community camp consisting of people speaking different languages. It was here that the poet met a Thai community on which he observed:

"The French have taken over this camp for two years now.

They set up their power of administration.

People are fed up with them.

The camp consists of groups of houses - about fifty in all.

Full of men and women speaking many languages.

But during this difficult time of war,

They come to join each other with love and co-operation.

The Thai Nua who live in these houses,

Speak Siamese with a rather strange accent,

They say "tawen" for "tawan," for instance.

But I can still understand them.

They dress more like the Chinese and they eat with chopsticks.

But they keep the Yuan hair style - making a bun at the back.

And cover their hair with a piece of cloth - making it look gluey.

The women still wear the Phathung like the Laos.

They worship spirits and they put up wall-brackets
in their rooms,

As the abodes of the spirit of ancestors,

And which they worship with food and sweets daily."¹

The observation journey ended at Lai Chau where the party stayed for twelve days. Then they returned to Lao Cai and to Hanoi by way of the Red River. They left Tonkin from the port of Haiphong and returned to Bangkok via Singapore.

The three Nirāt poems described in this chapter have clearly shown that there has been a marked decline of the convention of the Nirāt poetry as a genre. The original theme of love-longing was deliberately retained in the poems simply to preserve as well as to comply with the tradition. When we look at the love-longing aspect which appeared in these three Nirāt poems, we can see that Phrayā Mahānuphāp only expresses it once before leaving Bangkok, and even so he did not yearn to see his beloved but rather his King and the city which he was leaving. Mom Rāchōthai on the other hand often expresses his love-longing by means of the technique of Pun and T_ransfer

1. Ibid., pp. 71 - 72.

while still travelling within the Thai border. His beloved object is clearly a beloved woman. However, the main part of the poem which involves a detailed account of his stay in London and his diplomatic activities, the love-longing can still be found only when the poet returns to his hotel room where the bed and the pillow naturally stimulate his desire for love and the comfort of home. There can be no other immediate and concordant objects in a foreign land which can effectively serve the poet as love stimulants. Not only is it that names of flora and fauna are foreign but the natural phenomena such as the colours of the sky and the formations of the clouds can never be the same as natural elements the poet normally finds in his native land. Birches, oaks, and elms etc. or even daffodils are not likely to evoke feelings of nostalgia because they are new in the same way that foreign objects such as the snow in January England together with the cold wind does not inspire the poet to use it in association with his Siamese beloved.

In Nirāt Tangkia during the poet's observation journey, love melancholy was expressed only three times; when he stopped to rest, before having a meal, and when he received

a letter from his beloved.

It is also clear that the theme of love-longing has been replaced by actual recording of travel accounts and realistic elements described for official and public information rather than a mere artistic exercise in the melancholy of love-separation. As the conventional theme loses its precedence in Nirāt poetry, the technique of pun and transfer has automatically become less essential. Moreover, the Khlōng verse form which is suitable for the composition of a conventional Nirāt poem, but which is unsuitable for the writing of descriptive material, is, of course, replaced by the more feasible Klōn verse form. Thus the method of composition has also changed from Khlōng to Klōn.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIRĀT
GENRE IN THAI POETRY

The prominent theme of love-in-separation shared by such classic poems as Khlōng Thawāthotsamāt, Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai, Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt, and Rāchāphilāp Khamchan, has enabled us to recognise the emergence of types of poems using this theme. However, only Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai and Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt emerged as the model of the true Nirāt type in that, in them the theme of love-longing was firmly maintained while the temporal and the geographical settings were realistic rather than imaginary. Poems of true Nirāt type have constituted an independent genre of Thai poetry - quite distinct from other large poetical works. The nature of the Nirāt genre has provided poets with a new medium of expression which has given rise to a more individualistic nature of poetic expression. A poet had become personalized and could speak of himself. He could sing his love melancholy for the beloved he had left behind, recalling her character and her physical beauty, making his separation from her as unbearable as he could convey in a poem. His beloved was

an individual woman, rather than a universal entity, and in his Nirāt poem the poet expressed his own lament to the beloved whose name he often mentioned in the poem.

Although Khlōng Nirāt Haripunchai was composed as early as the 15th century, the true technical convention of the Nirāt composition was first fully established and expounded in Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt in the 17th century during the peak of the court-centred literary tradition. Consequently, the true model of the Khlōng Nirāt convention was composed under the inspiration of this classical tradition with its specialized poetic diction and vigorous passion of love melancholy. Apart from its unrivalled beauty of versification, Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt had made use of ancient and dialectical vocabulary, as well as words in Khmer, Pali, and Sanskrit. A good example of this classical element exhibited by Sīprāt can be seen from a wide range of epithets used for the poet's beloved as illustrated below.

<u>Beloved</u>	<u>Dialectical</u>	<u>Khmer</u>	<u>Indic</u>	<u>Ancient</u>	<u>Thai</u>
bā sī ^v chulālak	x		x		
saowaphāk			x		
chōm sawāt		x	x		
chōm mae		x			x

<u>Beloved</u>	<u>Dialectical</u>	<u>Khmer</u>	<u>Indic</u>	<u>Ancient</u>	<u>Thai</u>
khwan n̄ng				x	x
kaeo k̄					x
kralā s̄			x	x	
duang sawāt	x		x		
chū kaeo					x
duang diao	x				x
s̄i f̄			x		x
bua māt			x		x
phim th̄ng			x		x
bua th̄ng					x
kaeo khā		x			x
kaeo ph̄					x
sai sawāt			x		x
kralā phimphramāt			x	x	
sao sawan			x		x
nāng kasat			x		x
nuan nāt			x		x
nāng sawan			x		x

However, the main essence of Sīprāt's contribution to the Nirāt convention was a set of special techniques of pun and transfer which was systematically applied in the poem. Moreover, he resorted to the classical use of natural phenomena, flora and fauna, to complement this technical convention, redeploing these natural elements as love stimulants and using them to heighten his love melancholy.

Despite the destruction of Ayuthayā in 1767, this tradition survived, thanks to King Rama I's activities in reviving the arts and culture of the ancient Capital. Four Khlōng Nirāt poems appeared during the early Bangkok period; three were composed by Phrayā Trang and Narin In and these poems were followed by Khlōng Nirāt Maenām Noi composed by a poet who simply called himself Sit Sīprāt - a disciple of Sīprāt. The tradition of classical Nirāt convention had then been revived and the stage had been set for poets in the new Capital to carry on the tradition.¹

It must be remembered that the composition of Klōn Phlēng Yao, which had been popular in the court of King Bōromakōt in the late Ayuthayā period, had also been revived during this time and King Rama I himself had composed a Nirāt poem, Nirāt Rop Phamā Thī Thā Dindaeng, in the Klōn Phlēng Yao tradition. However, it was Sunthōn Phū who really developed the Klōn Nirāt. The new elements brought into Nirāt by Sunthōn Phū marked a clear development of the Nirāt genre in Thai poetry and the beginning of a new direction in Nirāt composition. The most observable sign of this development was the arrival of new elements, and the lessening of emphasis

1. Appendix 1.

on the theme of love-longing. The awareness of self became stronger as the individualistic nature of expression became more evident. Sunthōn Phū spoke more openly about himself, his beloved, and other people whom he had known well. He intensified the realistic aspect by giving descriptions of the journey and of the scenery as well as of human activities. His innovation provided poets with a freer and wider sphere of expression. It signalled a new trend, which encouraged many poets to experiment with many new elements other than love-longing for the beloved. Furthermore Sunthōn Phū's prolific expansion of the conventional techniques opened the way for these poets to join the court-centred elite in composing Nirāt poems.¹

Although this new direction attracted a great number of poets, both during the time of Sunthōn Phū and after, it is clear that the prestige and appeal of the classical tradition was still great. Many Khlōng Nirāt poems of the conventional type were composed right up to and during the reign of King Wachirāwut (1910 - 1925) when, however, only the King himself produced Nirāt poems in the conventional Khlōng style. Of these poems, eight were composed by the King and members

1. See Appendix 2.

of the Royal family.¹

A further development of the Nirāt genre, involved employing the theme of journeys to foreign countries. Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang Chīn written during the Thonburi period, before the emergence of Sunthōn Phū, has been established as the first Nirāt of this type - where the theme of love-longing was replaced by descriptions of foreign elements, and a record of the poet's official functions. There was a clear indication that the poet's inclination was to write a travel record in verse with an intention to present it to the King for information. This composition must have been done under the inspiration of the Klōn Phēng Yao tradition. The poet excluded the element of love-longing from the poem altogether, while concentrating more on recording the customs of the foreign peoples and his official dealings with his foreign host. Later Nirāt poems which involved journeys to foreign countries followed in the footsteps of Phrayā Mahānuphāp in that the poets put emphasis on the recording of foreign scenery and customs, together with their assigned official activities during the journey: but at the same time these poets reminded themselves of the Nirāt convention by expressing

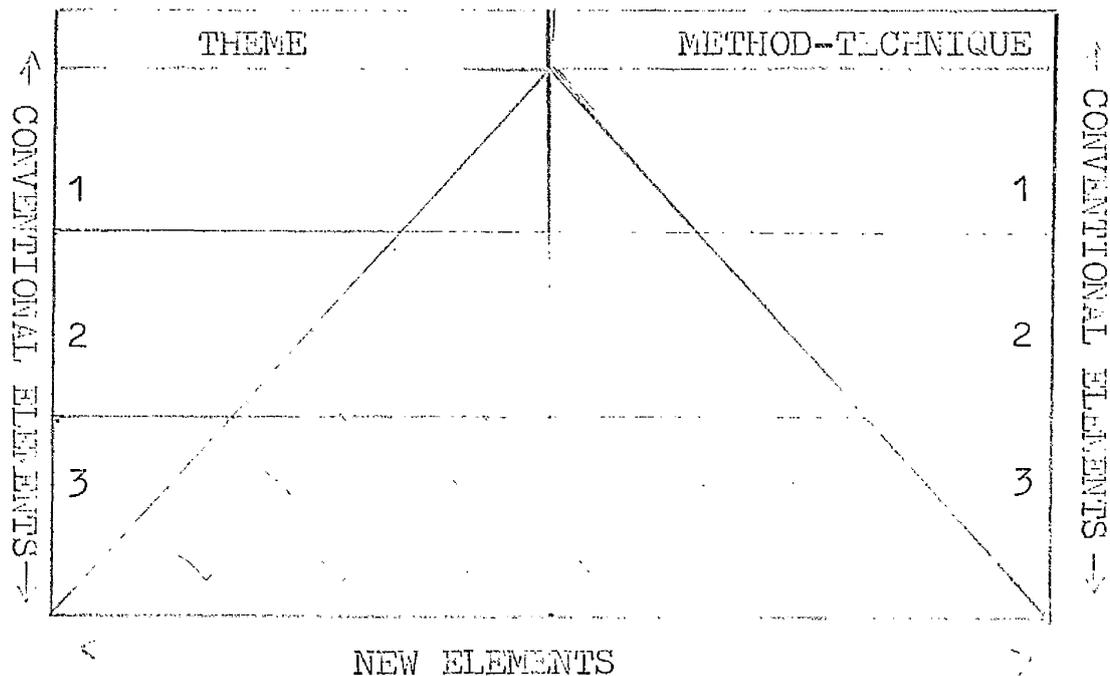
1. See Appendix 1.

love-longing whenever suitable, i.e. Mom Rāchōthai in his hotel room and Nai Waeo when he received a letter from home.¹

In essence, the development of the Nirāt genre can be illustrated by drawing a box figure of the type below. The box is divided into two halves; "theme" and "method-technique". Each half is separated by a line running from the bottom of the left hand corner to the top of the right hand corner of the "theme" half, and from the top of the left hand corner to the bottom of the right hand corner of the "method-technique" half. From this division we have the two outer halves representing the conventional elements of Nirāt poetry. It begins with the greatest emphasis at the top but gradually and continually declines as it progresses towards the bottom. The two inner halves represent the new elements which appear insignificant at the beginning, but gradually and continually expand in scope and emphasis and eventually take over the whole width of the bottom line. The box is further divided from top to bottom into three sections; 1, 2, and 3. Section 1 represents the first stage of Nirāt poetry in its classical

1. See Appendix 3.

convention established by Sīprāt (Chapters 3 and 4). Section 2 represents the beginning of the new direction set by Sunthōn Phū (Chapters 5 and 6). Section 3 represents further development of Nirāt poetry as set by Phrayā Mahānuphāp and developed by Mōm Rāchōthai (Chapter 7).



As has been made clear earlier, the theme of love-longing, the method of Khlōng verse form, and the technique of pun and transfer are the essential features of the conventional Nirāt genre. The box figure makes it clear that as each of these essential features changed, so the other features simultaneously altered. For example,

as the theme of love-longing received less emphasis and then finally disappeared, this was accompanied by the shift of the verse form from Khlōng to Klōn and by a less systematic, more loose though more prolific application of the technique of pun and transfer. In short, a particular verse form was suitable only for the composition of a particular type of poetry. The Khlōng is only suitable for the more conventional or classical poetry while the Klōn is more suitable for poetry of non-classical nature. This is why poets dared not use the Khlōng to compose their Nirāt poems under sections 2 and 3.¹

It should be emphasised that although the development as illustrated follows the time-scale in general from older to more modern, the situation is more complex. The stages are not time-stages absolutely, but represent stages of development of a poetic kind. Thus, as can be seen in the appendix, some stage 1 poems were composed as late as Rama VI's reign and there is nothing to prevent

1. With an exception of Sunthōn Phū's Khlōng Nirāt Suphan. However, it was believed that Sunthōn Phū's motivation in composing this Nirāt poem in the Khlōng verse form was to show his friends that he too could compose a poem in Khlōng and not just Klōn.

a poet reverting to this style even today, if he so wished. Of course the changed literary and social environment would make this composition somewhat unreal - such work could now flourish perhaps only in the context of poetry composition. Stage 2, though covering in the main the earlier part of the Bangkok period, begins before this and continues with some examples into the third decade of the 20th century. Stage 3 was set in the Thonburi period (1767 - 1782), reactivated in the fourth reign of the Bangkok period (1851 - 1868) and continues on until today. Appendix 1 (d) lists poems of mixed influence from the various stages. The date range is from c. 1858 to 1970.

Poems representing Stage 1 development have been listed under Appendix 1 (a). From this Appendix, it can be seen that the stage is firmly set by the five poems of the Ayuthaya period, revived and re-established even more firmly in the early part of the Bangkok period by Phrayā Trang and Narin In. Both poets regarded Khlōng Kamsuan Sīprāt as their chef d'oeuvre as they compared their

sadness of love separation with Sīprāt's sorrow in their poems. This convention was immediately enforced by the composition of Khlōng Nirāt Maenām Nṓi of which the poet submitted himself as a disciple of Sīprāt (Sit Sīprāt); Then Krom Mūn Sakdiphonlasēp, who later became Rama III's Second King, composed Nirāt Rātburī in the Lilit form.¹

Traditionally, it must be remembered that a learned person is recognized by his ability to follow the footsteps of the great master (tām yang prāt). This attitude was mentioned again and again in the Khlōng Nirāt poems. Indeed, it is the tradition for the learned to compose a Nirāt whenever he travels far from home, and his beloved. And, when a prince travelled, he was demanded by literary tradition to show his love of poetry by composing a Nirāt poem, and for him, the convention set by the great master became the guidelines of his composition. He must abide by those rules and convention very closely. The old belief that if, "one walks behind the elder one will not be bitten by the dog", (deon tām phūyai mā mai kat) still stands even today. Thus, it can be seen that poets who composed Nirāt under Stage 1 were among the court-centred

1. Lilit is a form of composition in which the combination of Khlōng and Rai verse forms are used.

elites. Phra Thēp Kōlī was a learned monk and he composed Khlōng Nirāt Talāt Kriap when he made a journey from Bangkok to watch an elephant round-up at Phaniat in Ayuthaya during the third Reign. In this same Reign, two other poems, Nirāt Luang Nā and Nirāt Phra Phiphit Sālī were composed by the two learned noblemen whose poems had been regarded as classics (Khlōng Khrū). Phra Phiphitsālī was elevated to the highly regarded position held by Sīprāt, Phrayā Trang, and Narin In, as his name was quoted by Krom Luang Wongsāthirāt Sanit in Khlōng Nirāt Phra Prathom, composed during the fourth Reign. Apart from Krom Luang Wongsāthirāt Sanit, two other poets, Krom Luang Phūwanēt Narinrit and Somdet Krom Phrayā Dēchadisōn, were members of the Royal family. Krom Luang Phūwanēt Narinrit, in his Khlōng Nirāt Chacheongsao, challenged other learned men to read and improve on his work - if they could find any fault in it. In Khlōng Nirāt Wiang^Vchan, Somdet Krom Phrayā Dēchadisōn was preoccupied with employing names of the locales so that he could frequently apply the technique of pun and transfer. As a result, the prince could only manage to include the journey from Bangkok to Saraburī

instead of Wiang^Vchan as he had originally intended.

Then during the reign of King Rama V, the Nirāt composition was strongly encouraged by the King himself who took interest in both the Khlōng and the Klōn Nirāt poems. His enthusiasm has been shown earlier in his letters to Princess Niphā Nophadon when he and his brothers played the poetry competition game of Sakawā on board ship to Europe in 1906, and when the King encouraged them to compose Nirāt poems. Nirāt Ratanā was composed by the King during that journey. Earlier, the King had composed Khlōng Nirāt Thao Suphatikān Phakdī pretending that Thao Suphatikān Phakdī was the author since it was probably difficult for the King, who had so many beloved, to sing his love-melancholy for any particular one. Two other poems composed during this reign were by a nobleman Phrayā Rāchsampharakōn, and the Crown Prince Wachirāwut (later King Rama VI). The Crown Prince accompanied his father to the opening ceremony of the new railway to the North which was completed as far as Nakhōn Sawan in 1905. After that trip, the King asked Wachirāwut to extend his journey to visit the Northern States so that he would get acquainted with the area as well as with the heads of the Northern States. It was during this journey that Wachirāwut composed Lilit

Phāyap to mark his official visit to the area as Crown Prince.

The existence of Stage 2 poems with their growing popularity during the third reign must have left a strong impact on most Stage 1 poets who were active during that time and after. Although, it is likely that they still regarded the use of Klōn verse to compose a Nirāt poem as unconventional and therefore unlearned, they probably found the scope of content which came with the new elements, appealing. Vital materials normally encountered by travellers such as human activities, beautiful scenery and interesting buildings, could not all be used for the sole purpose of love-longing expression. When the impact of the West began to be felt during the fourth reign these poets began to pay as much attention to the content as to the conventional form. This resulted in poets, whose works appeared from the fourth reign, starting from Khlōng Nirāt Chacheongsao by Krom Luang Phūwanēt Narinrit, to Khlōng Nirāt Pralōng Yut by King Rama VI, adding more descriptions of human activities together with straight descriptions of scenery and other objects in their poems. However, it must be emphasised

that the important features of Stage 1 development of the genre were still the maintenance of the theme of love-longing, the vigour of expression of sorrow, the Khlōng verse and the rigid application of the technical convention. Thus the monk poet, Phra Phiphit Sālī, had to express his love-longing in the most passionate manner in order to conform to Stage 1 convention. Later, Luang Thamāphimon, had to resort to the same convention when he composed Nirāt Wat Ruak while he was still a monk. This is clearly different from Sunthōn Phū who, as a monk, chose to avoid the delicate theme of love-longing by speaking of his disillusion with life and his longing for the happy past in Nirāt Phūkhaio Thōng. In Nirāt Wat Chao Fā he rid himself of the authorship altogether, pretending that he was not a monk but a rather mischievous boy, Nu Phat, who complained about the uncertainty of life, his unsympathetic relatives, and the crooked nature of human beings while enjoying the beauty of the Mōn girls. However, Sunthōn Phū's innovation of personal history, social criticism, and other elements never found its way into the content of poems under Stage 1.

Poems representing Stage 2 are listed in Appendix 1 (b).

The first two of these poems, one composed during the late Ayuthaya period in the reign of King B̄romakōt (1732 - 1758), the other by King Rama I (1782 - 1809), were composed under the inspiration of Kl̄n Phl̄ng Yao rather than the Nirāt. Therefore it was undoubtedly Sunth̄n Phū who brought about the development which is responsible for the nature of Nirāt poems composed under Stage 2. Here it must be emphasised that the convention was partially broken in every aspect. The method of Khl̄ng verse for a Nirāt poem was shifted to Kl̄n and with it came many new elements. Thus, more materials were included in the content of the poem. The poet's projection was no longer only on love-longing. The theme of love-melancholy was not, of course, lost but the poet's vision became wider. The beloved became merely a small part of the whole sphere of love. Sunth̄n Phū loved many women. He loved his country, the city of Bangkok, P. lace women, the M̄n girls, King Rama II, and his parents, relatives as well as his friends, and above all, he loved himself. In love there was an air of unhappiness which was fate (kamma). No one can avoid it and it was only right for the poet to sing realistically of his experience in life,

showing both his happiness and satisfaction or unhappiness and dissatisfaction as fate had dictated. This vision had prompted the poet to expand his expression from the conventional love-longing to other aspects which he had experienced in life. In a technical sense this expansion had resulted in the expansion of the object O from the beloved woman to other elements ranging from a woman to self pity. The technical convention was loosely but prolifically applied to suit each expression projected by the poet.

It can be seen from the names of the poets under Stage 2 that they are of a lower social strata and that they are outside the court-centred circle. Nai Mī's three poems became almost as popular as his master's and it took longer than a century for people to realise that it was Nai Mī who composed Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang and not Sunthōn Phū. Some passages in his Nirāt Suphan can still be recited from memory by many Thai students of literature.

Sunthōn Phū's influence can be seen most clearly in the works of Mahā Reok (Luang Chakpānī) who is the author of four Nirāt poems, one in Khlōng and three in Kōn. His

Khlōng Nirāt poem, Nirāt Krung Kao, has to be listed under the "mixed influence" because though it retains the theme of love-longing with vigorous expression and the rigid application of the technique of pun and transfer it also contains much of personal history. The three Klōn Nirāt poems, Nirāt Phra Prathom, Nirāt Thawārāwadi, and Nirāt Phra Patthawī, contain even more information about the poet's life and experience. In expressing his disillusion with life the poet tells us that he was an orphan since he was very young and he lived in Ayuthaya with his aunt who was poor. In Nirāt Phra Patthawī we learn that the poet was adopted by a monk who loved him as his own son and who taught him many things. He was a talkative and intelligent child. In Nirāt Thawārāwadi, the poet added more information about his experience as a novice and how he came to study Pali in the monastery in Ayuthaya and later moved to stay in a monastery in Bangkok. Like Sunthōn Phū, the poet often talked about his own character and personality. In his poems, Mahā Reok mentioned many women as his beloved; Yīsun in Nirāt Phra Prathom, Yīsun, Chan and Amphan in Nirāt Thawārāwadi, and he gave much information about them including his relationship with them. He is different

from Sunthōn Phū in that he did not drink but he was poor, proud, and sensitive like his master. He also stated many philosophical viewpoints about life and women and at many locales he gave the etymology of their names.

As Siamese women were strictly trained to abide by certain rules, they were unlikely to be able to express their love-longing for men. Even in Thai society today it is disgraceful for a woman to show her interest in a man. It is known that when Phlēng Yao was popular during the late Ayuthaya period young girls were barred from learning to read and write by their parents for fear that they would read and write the Phlēng Yao. The nature of the existing Nirāt convention developed by Stage 1 poets had left no room for a female poet to participate. However, the emergence and development of Stage 2 poems have provided them with some opportunity to do so. They could write a Nirāt poem without having to express their love-longing for a beloved, especially if he was a man. Khun Phum, a well-known and witty sakawā improviser during the fourth and fifth reigns, composed Nirāt Wang Bāng Yīkhan in 1869 when she accompanied Princess Nārīrat to Bāng Yīkhan Palace. Here, like Sunthōn Phū in his Nirāt Phukhao

Thong, Khun Phum expressed great sorrow when her boat stopped for the Princess to pay homage to King Rāmā IV's ashes. His death had left her without a patron and she had to live in poverty until King Rāmā V revitalized the Sakawā competition games during his reign and she was called upon once more. She spoke of the uncertainty of life and human improbity as she compared the high and low tide with the human heart when she arrived at Bang Lamphu. People, she said, only came to you when you were rich and when you had a high position, but they ignored you when you became poor and were left without a position. Other elements such as personal history, etymology of places especially names of monasteries, and human activities, were also given in this poem. Khun Phum was also noted for her singing during her prime and, realizing that she was growing older, she wished to leave her Nirāt poem for her admirers and friends in the form of writing instead of just singing because writing was a more permanent art. In this poem, Khun Phum showed that she still recognized the conventional element of a poet heightening the sadness of his love-longing by comparing the love sorrow of his own with that of well-known

literary characters. However, since the poetess was not expressing her love-longing for a beloved as such, she chose to compare herself with Sunthōn Phū's most loved literary character, Phra Aphaimanī. She said that as Phra Aphaimanī could lull people to sleep by his magic oboe, she wished that her poem would sooth her audience just the same. Thus, the works of Sunthōn Phū, Naī Mi, Mahā Roek, and Khun Phum had lifted the Klōn Nirāt poetry to its highest popularity. The concept of Nirāt composition became deeply ingrained within the mind of the Siamese and it had become an intellectual exercise among the educated in that a man would write a Nirāt poem whenever he went on a journey. Many minor poets and amateur travellers composed Klōn Nirat poems under Stage 2 development but none of these works match the quality of the works of their masters.

Stage 3 development shows a strong orientation towards the subject matter. Nirāt Lōndon was composed in 1859, two years after the actual journey, and the main aim of its composition was for publication. Immediately after his journey to London, Mōm Racho-thai had completed his work on the "records of the Siamese Embassy to London", in prose.

Nirāt London was merely the transformation of this work from prose to verse maintaining all the significant information. The availability of the printing press since 1835 and the existence of newspapers had much to do with the development of Nirāt poetry at this stage. The types of subject matter printed in the Darunōwāt magazine (1874 - 1875), for instance, pointed to the fact that the educated public were conscious and interested in information about foreign countries, their history, material progress, culture, and people.¹ The publication of Nirāt London is a good indication of the public's interest in reading not only for pleasure but also for intellectual satisfaction. Indeed, Prince Damrong, when writing about travelling, insisted that a traveller must gain both pleasure and knowledge out of his journey. At one point he wrote:

"There have not been many people who wrote about the route of their journey for other people's guidance. Therefore travelling nowadays is something vague and unattractive for young people - always anxious to seek knowledge - to do. All we have available at the moment are

1. For the subject matter contained in Darunōwāt magazine see Khachon Sukhaphanit, Kao Raek Khong Nangsū Phim Nai Prathet Thai, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 27 - 38.

Nirāt poems describing trees and places saying that they are like this and that, and in the end everything contributed to the love-longing for the poets' wives. There is no substance at all."

It can be seen, therefore, that later Nirāt poems tend to include a great deal of "substance" in them. Under Stage 3 development, good examples can be drawn from Nirāt Luang Phra Bāng and Nirāt Tangkia particularly in comparison with Phrayā Trang and Narin In's Nirāt poems because they were composed during the poets' journies to war. The conventional Nirāt poems to war contain no information about the fighting whatsoever while Nirāt poems under Stage 3 are full of information about the war and the actual fighting.

After World War II, when the Government started to receive foreign aid from the west, many officials were sent on observation trips abroad and around the world. More Nirāt poems were composed as byproducts of these trips. Some examples of these poems are Nirāt Rōp Lōk by Saeng Thong, four Nirāt poems by Pin Nālākun, and two by Dutsadī Mālā. These poems are merely travel accounts

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1. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Athibai Thung Ruang Thiao, in Ruang Thiao Thi Tang Tang Phāk Nung (A Collection of Travels, Part I), Bangkok, 1918, p.12.

in poetry as the poets did not use the special techniques of form and expression but became more concerned with recording their own activities while leaving aside traditional ideas and visions of poetical empathy. However, Nirāt Kaoli - "A Journey to Korea" by Rear Admiral Čhuap Hongsakun is praiseworthy.¹ Like Sunthōn Phū's work but of a more modern time, his Nirāt is not a mere travel account. It contains ideas and visions which stem from the elements the poet sees and observes on his journey which reflect the feeling of love for his country. Upon seeing a progressive Korean seaport for instance, the poet thinks of the Thai seaports, especially Songkhla, which have long been neglected.² His worries and concerns upon leaving Thailand are for the Thai people - they are for him the beloved. Before entering the sea at the mouth of the river, he entrusts them to the Government, beseeching it to provide better welfare for them and begging high ranking officials and politicians to stop their corrupt activities. He calls

1. Phon Rya Tri Čhuap Hongsakun, Ruam Nirāt Tōn Mai, Bangkok, 1969, 207 pp.

2. Ibid., p.23.

for powerful military men to repent and that they should not lower themselves to be involved in the opium business.¹ Upon seeing a Japanese ship, he recalls his relationship with General Nagamura, who was the commander of the Japanese army in Thailand during the Pacific War and who was kind enough to tell the Thais of their dangers in siding with the Japanese when the Japanese defeat was inevitable. From this memory he points out to his readers, the danger of the army getting involved in politics which, in the case of Japan, brought destruction to the country.²

Like other things in the Thai heritage, the composition of Nirāt poems has become less popular. This is understandable since it would be much more realistic to record events of a journey in prose. The composition of Nirat poems nowadays has to be initiated by a special literary club whose purpose is to preserve and to carry on the tradition. Recently, two volumes of Nirat poems emerged in this manner. The Sunthōn Phū Club published a collection of twenty-five short Nirat poems called "Ruam Nirāt Yīsip Hā Ryang" in 1966 and later in 1970, the Bangkok Bank sponsored the composition of "Nirāt Krung Kao"

1. Ibid. p. 4.

2. Ibid. p. 22.

by inviting 48 poets to compose one Nirāt. Each was responsible for a certain portion of the journey, which were then linked together.

The composition of travel accounts in prose was largely encouraged by King Rāmā V and his brothers. The King took a pleasure trip (Sadet Praphāt Ton) for the first time in 1904.¹ It was a trip of a personal rather than official nature. The King later took many other trips of this kind. His aim was perhaps to gain pleasure as well as geographical knowledge of his kingdom. Many travel accounts were written by the King himself under the heading "Sadet Praphāt" and "Raya Thāng Sadet Praphāt". His brothers also tried to promote the idea of recording travel accounts for public information, accounts which would include subjects such as geography, history, agriculture, customs, etc. From 1918 - 1928 Prince Damrong, Prince Sommot, and Prince Phanurangsi produced eight massive volumes of "Ryang Thiao Thī Tāng Tāng". In addition to these works, the Princes also produced writings on other travel accounts under the heading "thiao", such as "Thiao

1. See Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Sadet Praphāt Ton Nai Ratchakān Thī Hā, Bangkok, 1959.

Muang Phamā" by Prince Damrong and "Thiao Sai Yōk" by Prince Phānurangsī.

As the idea of Nirāt is deeply held and appreciated by the Siamese, Nirāt poems continued to be written. However, with the massive production of travel records as mentioned above, some travel writers used the term Nirāt to name their works. Prince Damrong himself composed Nirāt Nakhōn Wat in prose in 1924 and later, Senī Pramōt wrote Nirāt Lōḍon in 1947, also in prose.

If the form has changed from poetry to prose and if the motive of love-longing has disappeared the Nirāt becomes a travel book. Such developments are natural in the history of any literature. Yet even the existence of the term Nirāt can give an inspiration of a special kind to the Thai travellers of today. Some may simply use the term as a label for their account of foreign travel, others (as the 48 poets) may seek to revitalize some greater part of the earlier form. Even in this new circumstance, when travelogues were composed, the notion of Nirat often came into the minds of these writers. Prince Sommot, for instance, thought of Nai Mī and his Nirāt^V Chalāng when he wanted to describe the green colour

of the sea. He quoted from Sunthōn Phū's Nirāt Muang Phet when he saw horse-shoe crabs lying dead on the beach. And later, when he came across the waves, he quoted a passage from Mōm Rāchōthai's Nirāt London for that description.¹ King Rāmā V and his brothers inserted many Khlong stanzas to heighten the beauty of some places and scenery in their account of the journey by sea to Chanthaburi.² Then, as can be expected, when the King composed a Nirāt in Klōn verse "Tām Sadet Saiyōk", it was a travel account in verse without any trace of the original Nirāt theme of love-longing.³

In considering the life of Nirāt, there was a time when Nirāt did not exist and its emergence has been demonstrated by bringing together elements which produced the timed-personal itinerary as the framework for the experience of love-longing in verse. From that

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1. See Krom Phra Sommot Amōnphan, Ryang Thiao Thī Tāng Tāng Phāk Nung, Bangkok, 1918, pp. 15, 17, 49 and 52.
 2. Rāmā V, Sadet Praphāt Chanthaburī B.E. 2419, in Chumnum Ryang Chanthaburī, Bangkok, 1970, pp. 89 - 151.
 3. Rāmā V, Tām Sadet Saiyōk, Bangkok, 1962.

time the stages in the development of the Nirāt can be described. Is there a point in the development when we have to admit that Nirāt continues to exist only in name with its characteristic features attenuated or lost? Prince Damrong is perhaps implicitly commenting on the development of such a situation in his apology written as a preface in Nirāt Nakhōn Wat when he said:

"I shall follow in the footsteps of learned men,
By composing a Nirāt telling about my journey to
Kampuja.

For relatives and friends to read as a gift.

Most of them should be contented with this.

But, alas, if I am to write this in verse,

It would take me years and I would not finish it.

Because I am not a poet, I am no good in Klōn
composition.

So, I have to make do with prose,

With a little passage of Klōn as an introduction,

Showing the notion of Nirāt as held by our learned
elders.

Otherwise, they will say my writing is not a Nirāt,

Because it is not in verse.

So, here it is, a Nirāt in verse, serving as my
witness."

1. Damrong Rāchānuphāp, Nirāt Nakhōn Wat, Bangkok, 1962, p.2.

This modern development shows that the idea of Nirāt is deeply rooted and appreciated by Thai people with literary interests. The best Nirāt poems will always remain as a part of Thailand's literary heritage. The Nirāt has been defined in terms of its essential form, content, and poetic process making it a clearly defined genre. It arose from the poetry of love-longing and in its most modern history it has become, in many examples, a travel account preserving the name Nirāt. But what makes the true Nirāt is the set of special techniques of form and expression used by the poets to link these ideas of travel and love in absence and, even in the greatly changed circumstances of today, some poets have shown that the literary tradition is still alive.

APPENDIX 1(a)

CONVENTIONAL KHLÖNG NIRĀT POEMS

Title	Author	Date of Composition	
Nirāt Haripunchai Kamsuan Sīprāt Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan Nirāt Chaofā Aphai Nirāt Phrabāt	Anonymous Sīprāt Phra Sīmahōsot Chaofā Aphai Phra Nāk	15th Century 17th Century 17th Century 18th Century 18th Century	Ayuthaya Period
Nirāt Tām Sadet Thap Lam Nām Nqi Nirāt Phrayā Trang Nirāt Narin Nirāt Rāchaburī Nirāt Maenām Nqi Nirāt Talāt Kriap Nirāt Luang Nā Nirāt Phra Phiphit Sālī Nirāt Chachoengsao Nirāt Wiangchan Nirāt Phra Prathom Nirāt Phaniat Nirāt Wat Ruak	Phrayā Trang Phrayā Trang Narin In Krom Mūn Sakdi- phonlasēp Sit Sīprāt Phra Thēp Mōlī Luang Nā Phra Phiphit Sālī Krom Luang Phūwanēt Narinrit Somdet Krom Phrayā Dechādisōn Krom Luang Wongsā thirāt Sanit Somdet Krom Phrayā Bamrāp Pqrapak Luang Thammā Phimon	1st Reign 2nd Reign 2nd Reign 2nd Reign 2nd Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign	Bangkok Period

Title	Author	Date of Composition	
Nirāt Thao Suphattikān Phakdī	King Čhulālongkōn	5th Reign	Bangkok Period
Nirāt Ratana	King Čhulālongkōn	5th Reign	
Nirāt Chiangmai	Phrayā Rāčhasamphāra- kōn	5th Reign	
Lilit Phāyap	Crown Prince Wachirāwut	5th Reign	
Nirāt Pračōngyut	King Wachirāwut	6th Reign	

APPENDIX 1(b)
 KLŪN NIRĀT POEMS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF
 THE NEW DIRECTION

Title	Author	Date of Composition	
Nirāt Phetchaburī	Nai Phimsēn	18th Century	Ayuthaya Period
Nirāt Rop Phamā Thī Thā Dindaeng Nirāt Myang Klaeng Nirāt Phrabāt Nirāt Phūkhaō Thōng Nirāt Wat Chaofā Nirāt Chalāng Nirāt Phrathaen Dongrang Nirāt Suphan Nirāt Phra Prathom Nirāt Myang Phet Nirāt Phra Prathom Nirāt Thawārāwadī Nirāt Phra Patthawī Nirāt Wang Bāng Yīkhan Nirāt Phra Thaen Nirāt Bān Laem Nirāt Khaō Luang	King Rama I Sunthōn Phū Sunthōn Phū Sunthōn Phū Sunthōn Phū Nai Mī Nai Mī Nai Mī Sunthōn Phū Sunthōn Phū Mahā Roek Mahā Roek Mahā Roek Khun Phum Nēn Klan Nai Phin Khun Wōrakān	1st Reign 1st Reign 1st Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 3rd Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign 4th Reign 5th Reign 5th Reign 5th Reign 5th Reign No date No date	Bangkok Period

Title	Author	Date of Composition	
Nirāt Hāt Chao Samrān	Nai Fṅang Chawālī	6th Reign	
Nirāt Pak Tai	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Mṅang Prāchinburī	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Phra Prathom Chēdī	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Mṅang Nakhōn Chaisī	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Pāklat	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Kṅ Sīchang	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Dṅk Aiyarā	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Chiangmai	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Phetchaburī	Anonymous	No date	
Nirāt Maeklōng	Anonymous	No date	

Bangkok Period

APPENDIX 1(c)

NIRĀT POEMS INVOLVING THE THEME OF A JOURNEY
TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY

Title	Author	Date of Composition
Nirāt Phrayā Mahānuphāp Pai Myang Čhīn	Phrayā Mahānuphāp	1781 Thonburi Period
Nirāt Myang Thēt	Anonymous	2nd Reign
Nirāt London	Mqm Rāchōthai	4th Reign
Nirāt Kḡ Kaeo Kanlakattā	Phra Rātchasombat	4th Reign
Nirāt Myang Luang Phrabāng	Luang Thuaihān Raksā	5th Reign
Nirāt Tangkia	Nai Waeo	5th Reign
Nirāt Singapō	Anonymous	5th Reign
Nirāt Hongkong	Anonymous	No Date
Nirāt Krung Thēp Tōkiao	Luang Wichit Wāthakān ^{VI}	c. 1940
Nirāt Rḡp Lōk	Saeng Thōng (Luang Bunyamānop Phānit)	1938
Nirāt Kaolī	Čhuap Hongsakun	1953
Nirāt Yurōp	Čhuap Hongsakun	1964
Nirāt Qtsatrēlia	Čhuap Hongsakun	1965
Nirāt Myang Thai Pai Rḡp Lōk	Dutsadī Mālā	1949
Nirāt Yurōp	Dutsadī Mālā	1965
Nirāt Rḡn Rḡn Raem Pai Rḡp Lōk	Pin Malākun	1964

Title	Author	Date of Composition
Nirāt Phā Y ^u chai Pai Rōp Lōk	Pin Mālākun	1964
Nirāt Laen Daen Araya	Pin Mālākun	1965
Nirāt Liao Thiao Thong Kap Nōng Kaeo	Pin Mālākun	1972
Nirāt Sām Thawīp	Yotsawadi Amphōn Phaisān	1964

APPENDIX 1(d)

POEMS OF MIXED INFLUENCE

Title	Author	Date of Composition	Influenced by
Khlōng Nirāt Suphan	Sunthōn Phū	1841	1 + 2
Khlōng Nirāt Krung Kao	Mahā Roek	1861	1 + 2
Tām Sadet Saiyōk	King Čhulālongkōn	1873	3
Nirāt Prāp Ngiao	Luang Thuaihān Raksā	1902	3
Khlōng Nirāt Cha-am	Prince Narāthip	1928	1 + 3
Nirāt Narāthip	Prince Narāthip	1928	3
Nirāt Mųang Nųa	Čhuap Hongsakun	1963	2 + 3
Nirāt Wang Takhrāi	Čhuap Hongsakun	1964	2 + 3
Nirāt Klai Kangwon	Čhuap Hongsakun	1966	2 + 3
Nirāt Anusāwarī Sunthōn Phū	Chan Khamwilai		2 + 3
Nirāt Chiangmai	Plōt Chūsai	1968	2 + 3
Nirāt Phiphit Theśanusōn	Amrāt Raksāsāt	1959	2 + 3
Nirāt Yīsiphā Rųang	25 poets	1966	2 + 3
Nirāt Krung Kao	48 poets	1969	2 + 3

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Author: No.: 1
History: National Library's property
2. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Chiangmai
Author: Phra Ratchasamphārākōn Lyan No.: 2
Date of Composition: C.S. 1244
3. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Chumphōn
Author: No.: 1
History: National Library's property.
4. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Haripunchai
Author: No.: 3
History: Bought, 18, April, R.S. 130
5. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt KānChanaburi
Author: Thao Suphattikān Phakdī No.: 3
History: National Library's property
6. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Krung Kao
Author: Luang Chakpānī No.: 1
Date of composition: C.S. 1222 (B.E. 2403)
History: Given by Khun Prasop, 16 June, B.E. 2462
7. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Maenam Noi
Author: Phrayā Kāchāt Sit Sīprāt No.: 1

8. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Nai Sanē
 Author: Nai Sanē No: 1
 History: Acquired, 8 April, R.S. 126
9. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Nakhōn Sawan
 Author: Phra Sīmahōsot No.: 2
 History: National Library's property
10. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Narin
 Author: No.: 6
11. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phra Prathom
 Author: Krom Luang Wongsāthirāt Sanit No.: 2
12. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phrayā Trang
 (Tām Sadet Pai Thap Muang
 Thalāng)
 Author: Phrayā Trang No.: 6/7
 History: National Library's property.
13. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phrayā Trang
 (Pai Thap Thawai)
 Author: Phrayā Trang No.: 2
 History: National Library's property
14. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phukhao Thōng
 Wat Sakēt (Krung Thēp)
 Author: Khun Chamnān Anusān (Rōt) No.: 1
 History: Acquired from the Ministry of Education,
 10 June, B.E. 2480
15. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Rak
 Author: No.: 1
 History: National Library's property.

16. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Suam Khruan
 Author: No.: 1
 History: National Library's property
17. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Talāt Kriap
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Acquired, 23, September, B.E. 2464
18. Group: Khlōng Nirāt Title: Nirāt Wiang^Vchan
 Author: Krom M^Vñ Dēt Adis^Vñ No.: 3
 Date of composition: B.E. 2569
 History: Given by Phra Ong Chao^V Chan, 28, February,
 R.S. 126
19. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Alai
 (Klōn Chom Phrayā Sīpheng)
 Author: No.: 9
 History: National Library's property
20. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Bāng Yīkhan
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Given by Phra Ong Chao^V Boromawongthoe Phra
 Ong Chao Praditsathasāri, 23 September,
 B.E. 2464
21. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Chiangmai
 Author: Khun Thong Phithak No.: 3
 History: Given by Phra Ong Chao^V Wong Chan, 19 January,
 R.S. 131
22. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Chom Talāt
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Property of Wat Mahāthāt
23. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Dōk Aiyarā
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Given by Chao^V Chom Sombūn (Rama V), B.E. 2472

24. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Dyan
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Given by Phin, the wife of Luang Thip Ōsot,
 24 July, R.S. 127
25. Group: Wannakhadī Title: Nirāt Dyan Kham Kl̄ṇ
 (Thawāhotsamāt)
 Author: No.: 2
 History: National Library's property
26. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Hṅkong
 Author: Khun Phumhuang Butsabā No.: 2
 History: Bought from Mṃ Luang Daeng Supradit, B.E. 247
27. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Inao, Lem Nṅng
 Author: Phra Ong Chao Ying Kamphutchāt No.: 1, 2
 History: No. 1 : Given by Chao Phrayā Mukkhamontrī
 (Uap), B.E. 2473
 No. 2 : Bought, 2 June, R.S. 126
28. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Inao, Lem Sṅng
 Author: Phra Ong Chao Ying Kamphutchāt No.: 3,4,6,7,8
 History: No. 3, Given by Chao Phrayā Mukkhamontrī
 (Uap), B.E. 2473
 Nos. 4, 6. 7: National Library's property
 No. 8, Bought, 24 September, R.S. 126
29. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Khao Luang
 Author: Khun W̄rakān No.: 2
 History: Given by Nai Yoi of Ban Sān Chao Sua,
 Phetburī, 1 January, R.S. 127
30. Group: Kl̄ṇ Nirāt Title: Nirāt Kṃ Kaeo
 Kalakattā Lem Nṅng
 Author: Phra Rāchasombat No.: 5, 6
 Date of Composition: B.E. 2042
 History: Given by Phrayā Ratanakun Adunlayaphakdī
 (Chamrat Ratanakun), 26 June, B.E. 2463

31. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Krung Kao
 Author: Nai Tāt (But Sunthōn Phū) No.: 2
 Date of Composition: C.S. 1233
32. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Krung Kao
 (Khwām Nung)
 Author: A female poet No.: 1
 History: National Library's property
33. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Kwangtung
 Author: Phrayā Mahānuphāp No.: 3
 Date of composition: C.S. 1143, B.E. 2724
34. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt London Lem
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
 Author: Mōm Rāchōthai No.: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6
 History: National Library's property
35. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Maeklōng
 Author: No.: 1
 History: National Library's property
36. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Myang Thēt
 Author: No.: 2
 Date of composition: C.S. 1181
 History: Bought, 23 September, R.S. 126
37. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Nakhōn Chaisī
 Author: No.: 1
 History: Bought from Mōm Luang Daeng Supradit B.E. 2479
38. Group: Klōn Nirāt Title: Nirāt Nakhōn
 Sīthamarāt
 Author: Krom Phra Rāchawang Bōwōn Mahā Surasinghanāt
 No.: 2, 3, 4
 Date of composition: B.E. 2329
 History: No. 3 Bought from Nai Yū, B.E. 2472
 No. 4 Given by Mōn Thippharaksā, 19 August,
 B.E. 2459

39. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Nōngkhai Lem
1, 2, 3, 4
Author: No.: 1,2,3,4
History: Acquired from Office of the Prime Minister
40. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Pāklat T̄on 1
and T̄on 2
Author: No.: 1, 2
History: National Library's property
41. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phetburī
Author: No.: 1
History: National Library's property
42. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Prā^Vchinburī
Author: No.: 4
History: Bought, 17 June, R.S. 126
43. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phra Prathom
Chedi
Author: Phuying Chao Wang Nā (A lady of the front
palace) No.: 7
History: Given by M̄om Chao Rattanōphāt, 1 October,
B.E. 2464
44. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phra Phutthabā^V
Author: No.: 1,2,3,4
History: No. 1 Given by Phrayā Thewāthirāt, 19
January, B.E. 2463
No. 2 Bought from Nai R̄ot, 17 September
B.E. 2464
No. 3 Bought 1 April, R.S. 126
No. 4 Given by M̄om Chao Ratanōphāt, 1 October
B.E. 2464

45. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Phra Thaen
Dongrang
Author: Nai Mī Mun Phrom Somphatsōn No. : 5, 6
History: No. 5 Given by Phra Ong Chao Phim
Phapsōnsōi, 2 July, B.E. 2460
No. 6 Given by Nai Phrom Khamalā, 30 May,
B.E. 2481
46. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Rak Lopburī
Lem Sōng
Author: No.: 1, 2
History: No. 1. Bought from Nāng Ying, 16 May,
B.E. 2460
No. 2 Bought from Nāng Ying, 16 May,
B.E. 2460
47. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Sīchang
Author: No.: 7
History: Given by Phra Ong Chao Chan, 24 April, R.S 131
48. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Sīkuk
Author: No.: 3
History: Given by Chā Chāng Fai (Kl̄ong Kaeo), 29 May,
B.E. 2429
49. Group: kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Singkapō
Lem N̄yng
Author: No.: 1
History: National Library's property
50. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Sōksan
Author: No.: 2
History: National Library's property
51. Group: Kl̄on Nirāt Title: Nirāt Tanao Lem
N̄yng
Author: No.: 1
History: National Library's property

52. Group: Kl̄n Nirāt Title: Nirāt Thī Rak
 Author: No.: 1
53. Group: Kl̄n Ān Title: Nirāt Inao
 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
54. Group: Kl̄n Ān Title: Nirāt Myang Klaeng
 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
55. Group: Kl̄n Ān Title: Nirāt Myang Phetburī
 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
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 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
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 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
58. Group: Kl̄n Ān Title: Nirāt Phrathaen
 Author: Samanēn Klan
 Dongrang
59. Group: Kl̄n Ān Title: Nirāt Phūkhao Thōng
 Author: Sunth̄n Phū
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 Author: Sunth̄n Phū

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